The Sphinx

Its History in the Light of Recent Excavations

By the Same Author

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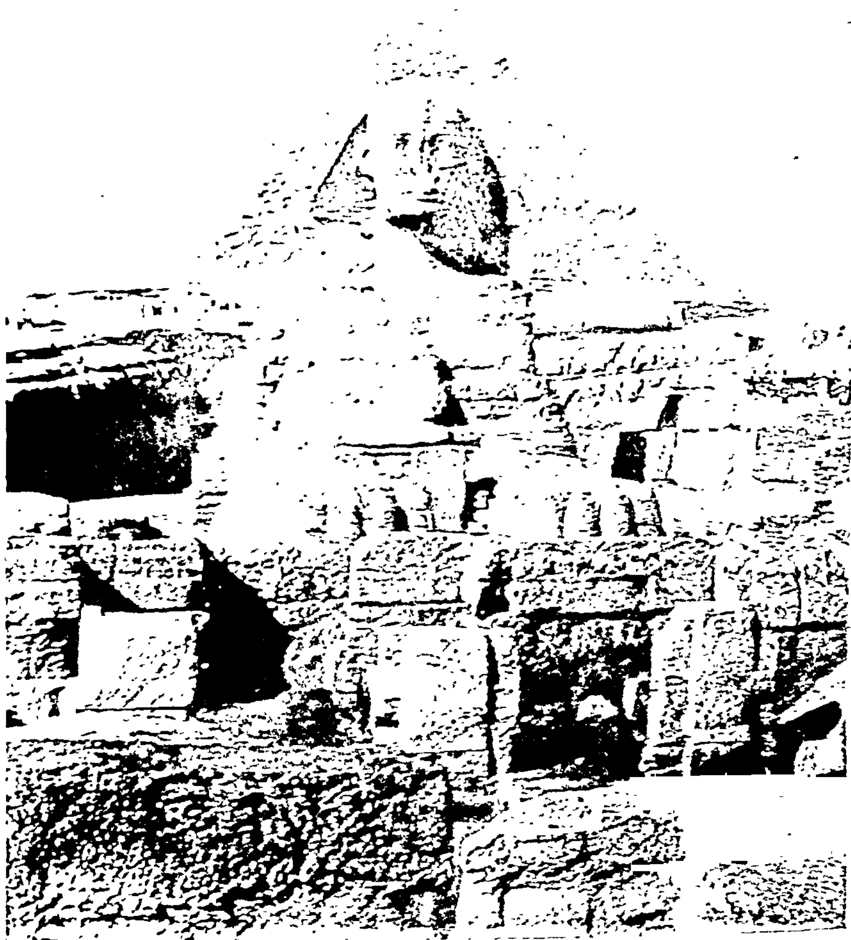
1. Excavations at Giza, Vol. I (1929–1930).
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THE GREAT SPHINX OF GIZA

The Sphinx

Its History in the Light of Recent Excavations

by

Prof. SELIM HASSAN, PH

ILLUSTRATED

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TO

THE MEMORY OF MY FRIEND

Prof. PERCY E. NEWBERRY

PREFACE

Of all the monuments in which Egypt abounds, there is not one which stimulates the imagination to the same extent as the Great Sphinx of Giza, the magnificent man-headed lion which gazes eternally out over the fertile Valley of the Nile, with its face to the rising sun.

Who has not heard of the Sphinx, the monster whose very name has become a by-word for mystery ? Its features, reproduced in a profusion which would have become wearisome in a lesser work of Art, has rendered its appearance familiar to the inhabitants of every civilized country.

It has been the theme of poets, painters, musicians, theologians and historians, and yet in spite of all that, it has remained the silent mystery of the ages, the Great Paradox, being at once the best known and the least known of all the monuments in Egypt. For in spite of the multitude of writers who have dealt with the subject of the Sphinx, nothing was known concerning it, beyond its outward appearance, measurements, etc. When was it made, for what reason; what did it represent ? These were questions which remained unanswered, and served to add to its reputation of mysterious silence.

Speaking personally, the Sphinx has always exercised a great and powerful fascination over my mind, and it had always been the dream of my life to excavate this wonderful monument, in the hope that more modern methods of excavation would succeed in revealing the secrets which the old, slip-shod methods had failed to do. Accordingly, when the way was suddenly opened to me in 1936, the reader can imagine with what eagerness I hastened to set to work on this long-coveted site!

Before proceeding any further, I should like to say a few words on the subject of the art of excavation, according to the methods which we applied here on our Giza site. To be very brief, one might say that the art of successful excavating lies in the observance of these few rules :—

(1) Never leave a site until it is cleared down to the level of the natural rock, or in sites where rock does not exist, until the undisturbed strata of the soil is reached.

(2) Photograph every object as it is found, *in situ* for preference. Also photograph the work in all its stages, and keep a full diary and register.

(3) Carefully preserve all sculptured fragments, they may in many cases appear to be of no interest, but often other pieces of the same object will come

to light, perhaps far from the original fragment, and if all are carefully preserved, they may in many cases be fitted together.

(4) Accurately copy *all* inscriptions, even fragmentary ones, immediately. These are the archæologist's most precious finds, and must at all costs be carefully preserved.

(5) Be observant. A thin streak of plaster in a confused mass of mud-debris will show the direction of a ruined mud-brick wall. A minute scrap of broken pottery will often date a large monument.

(6) Above all, keep an open mind. What may seem to be a proved fact to-day may wear a very different aspect to-morrow.

These are the rules we have always followed in our excavations. Whether they are successful or not, I leave the reader to judge after reading the following pages.

When I began working upon the Sphinx, there were many wise-heads who laughed, and said that I was labouring in vain on a site that had been *repeatedly plundered and excavated since Antiquity*, and which could not possibly produce anything new as evidence concerning the Sphinx. And that was true, to a great extent. The Sphinx site certainly

had been repeatedly re-worked and yet it had preserved its secret intact, for the simple reason that the Sphinx itself is an uninscribed monument, except for the granite stela placed against the breast, which is, after all, a late addition, made when the Sphinx was already regarded as an antiquity. But all the previous work had been concentrated upon the Sphinx itself, and its immediate surroundings, merely a few metres to the north and south of it having been laid bare. But I determined to widen the actual field of investigation, and examine every inch of ground in the whole amphitheatre of the monument. At first this seemed to be a hopeless task, but by dint of hard work and patience, not to mention the removal of over a quarter of a million cubic metres of sand, the task was at length accomplished!

And I am happy to say that the effort revealed more than I even dared to hope for; and moreover, most of the monuments recovered opened up an absolutely new field of research concerning the Sphinx cult.

Therefore, after ten years' residence actually beside the Sphinx, years spent in daily work and study among the monuments of the Old Kingdom, a complete study of all the previous work ever undertaken in connection with the Sphinx, and finally,

after the study of the above-mentioned new material, I think that the time has come to put the facts as we see them before the world, and present to the reader, the Great Sphinx of Giza as he appears under the searchlight of Science.

More last words should be added here that the aim of this little volume is not an exhaustive study of all the materials gathered by me during the excavations which I have undertaken around the Sphinx, but, strictly speaking, it is a brief survey of the whole subject. A more detailed examination of the inscriptions and objects found on this spot will be forthcoming in a special volume in my "Excavations at Giza" series.

Finally, I have to thank the Director-General of the Egyptian Government Press, Hamid Khadr Bey, and his staff for the good work they have done.

At the same time, my warmest gratitude is due, in particular, to Hassan Munib Eff., of the Egyptian Government Press, who has taken the trouble of reading and correcting all the proofs very carefully and doing as well the very hard job of preparing the index. The efforts he has made in the Press in bringing out this work in its technical form is also gratefully acknowledged

CAIRO, *August 1949* SELIM HASSAN

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INTRODUCTION

At a distance of about ten kilometres from modern Cairo lies the Great Sphinx of Giza, in the vicinity of the famous Pyramids, the whole group forming one of the chief wonders of the world (Frontispiece).

Before attempting to discuss this gigantic man-headed lion, let us first examine its surroundings. That part of the rocky ridge, which constitutes the Necropolis of Giza, is a section of the extreme edge of the Libyan Plateau, a desolate highland of nummulitic limestone, rising to a height of about 40 metres above sea-level. It commands a magnificent view of the green and fertile Valley of the Nile, with the chain of the Mokkatam Hills in the far distance.

Apparently the oldest tomb in this Necropolis is a large mastaba (1) of the Ist Dynasty, which lies about a mile and a half to the south-east of the Great Pyramid. It was discovered in 1904 by M. Barsanti (2). Near to this tomb, but built on a higher level, is a mastaba of the IInd Dynasty dated to the reign of King Neter-mu (3). Though large, these tombs appear insignificant when compared with the artificial mountains which the Kings, Zoser, Huni and Seneferu, had erected at Sakkara, Dahshur and Meydum (2980 - 2900 B.C.).

When Khufu, the second King of the IVth Dynasty (2900 B.C.) chose the Giza site in which to erect his gigantic Pyramid, he had several excellent reasons for so doing. To begin with, the locality was already sanctified by the presence of the Archaic tombs already referred to. Secondly, there was an abundance of good-quality stone in easily accessible quarries, which was not to be found at Sakkara, where the stone is of unusually poor quality. Furthermore, this fine stone lay almost at the very spot where Khufu wished to build; the ancient quarries having come to light during our excavations

(1) Tombs with a flat-topped, rectangular superstructure, so called on account of their resemblance to the earthen benches (called : '*mastaba*' in Arabic), seen outside houses in Egyptian villages.

(2) PETRIE, "*Gizeh and Rifeh*", p. 2.

(3) *Ibid*, p. 7.

there. This discounts the theory that the stone for the Pyramid was brought from a great distance, by the united service of the whole nation, enslaved for the purpose. The stone merely needed quarrying, the problem of transport was negligible, and the men only worked on it during the three months of the year when the land was under water from the inundation, and agricultural labour was at a standstill. Had they not been employed in quarrying and building, these men would have been idle, and therefore, probably starving. Thus, it seems as though Khufu was a public benefactor, instead of the merciless tyrant he has so often been pictured !

White limestone for the casing of the Pyramid was obtained from Turah, a spot still famous for its limestone quarries, and which lies a few miles south of Giza, on the eastern bank of the Nile. Granite for the interior work was obtained from Aswan. These stones were brought down the Nile on specially constructed barges, which during the inundation could be floated right up to the foot of the Plateau.

A scene on the causeway leading to the Pyramid of King Wnas, which came to light in our excavations at Sakkara, shows some of these special barges transporting the massive red granite cornice and

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columns, the originals of which are actually to be seen in the Mortuary and Valley Temples of Wnas, which were built well over 4,000 years ago (1).

For the remainder of the IVth Dynasty the Kings and nobles all built their tombs in the Giza Necropolis (2), which took its name from Khufu's Pyramid, "Kheret-neter Akhet-Khufu", meaning "the Necropolis of the Horizon of Khufu". Later, it was called Rostaw, from which Osiris, the God of the Dead, probably derived his title "Lord of Rostaw".

Each of the Royal Pyramids forms the nucleus of a necropolis wherein were buried the family, nobles and employees of the King who built the parent pyramid. Thus the Necropolis of Khufu lies to the west, east and south of the Great Pyramid. That of Khafra lies to the south and east of the Second Pyramid. To the south-east of the latter lies the Fourth Pyramid, of Queen Khent-kawes (3) with the Pyramid city, in which dwelt the priests who ministered to the Queen's Mortuary Cult, lying

(1) Every Royal Pyramid in the Old Kingdom possessed a Mortuary Temple, immediately in front of its eastern face, and a Valley Temple down on the edge of the cultivation, still to the east of the Pyramid.

(2) With two exceptions, namely Ded-f-Ra and Shepses-ka-f.

(3) Excavated and identified by me during our fourth season's work; *see* my "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. IV.

before it on the east, and its Necropolis surrounding it. All these various parts of the Necropolis overlap each other at certain points.

The Sphinx itself lies at the north-eastern edge of the Necropolis, in a rocky depression left by the quarrying operations for Khufu's Pyramid. The actual place of the Sphinx and its Temple was known anciently as "Setepet", meaning the "Select". Beyond it to the east and south, lie the "*modern*" villages of Nezlit-el-Seman and Kafr Batran, the former having existed in ancient times under the name of Busiris [1].

Let us now pause awhile in the "Select" and examine the Sphinx as it is revealed by the light of its past and present excavations

[1] *See* the Græco-Roman inscription, found near the Sphinx, p. 235

THE EXCAVATION OF THE SPHINX IN ANCIENT TIMES

THE first historical evidence we have for the excavation of the Sphinx dates from the reign of Thothmes IV. of the XVIIIth Dynasty (about 1420 B.C.), who recorded his undertaking upon a granite stela placed against the breast of the Image (*see* p. 193). This Pharaoh cleared away the sand from the Sphinx and built a system of mud-brick walls surrounding it, in order to keep the encroaching sands at bay. We unearthed a considerable portion of these walls during our excavations, and the fact that some of the bricks in them were stamped with the name of Thothmes IV, proves the truth of the Pharaoh's claims.

A paragraph, in a letter of instructions from an official to his subordinate, tells us that Rameses II, of the XIXth Dynasty (1292 - 1225 B.C.) also carried out repairs to the Sphinx. The letter reads : " I have heard that thou hast taken eight labourers who were working on the ' House of Thoth of Rameses-meri-Amon, Life, Health, Prosperity, Satisfied with Truth in Memphis ' (1). Thou shalt deliver them to draw stone for the Sphinx in Memphis ".

(1) The name of a temple.

The curious thing about this letter is that it records that Rameses II had ordered stone to be quarried, usually his architects stole their material from already existing monuments. Petrie discovered that the basement of the Temple of Ptah in Memphis, which Rameses had built, was made of granite, obviously stolen from the lower courses of the casing of the Second Pyramid (1). One of his architects, a man named May, used the Second Pyramid and its Temple as a quarry, from which he obtained stone to build a temple at Heliopolis, and unblushingly left two inscriptions on the scene of his crime, which read · "The Builder of the Temple (called) 'Rameses shines in the Great House of the Prince', May, the Justified, son of the Director of the Works, Bekenamon, of Thebes, Pa-minu" (2), and "The Director of the Works of the House of Ra (Heliopolis), May" (3).

May also had the audacity to dedicate two stelae to the Sphinx which came to light in our excavations.

The stone, which Rameses had ordered to be quarried for the Sphinx, was perhaps used for the first casing of the paws, which had suffered from erosion.

(1) PETRIE, "*Memphis*", p. 6.

(2) Inscribed on the face of the escarpment, to the north of the Second Pyramid.

(3) Inscribed on the escarpment, to the west of the Second Pyramid.

There is no evidence that any clearance was made around the Sphinx during the Saitic Period—the age of Renaissance in Egypt (663 - 525 B.C.)—which is strange, considering the esteem in which ancient monuments were held at that time. Perhaps the walls built by Thothmes IV had been kept in repair, and were still holding back the sand.

Herodotus, who visited Egypt during the Persian Dominion (525 B.C.), completely ignores the Sphinx, although he has much to say about the Pyramids. But we know that its worship was flourishing at that time, and we even have records of its priesthood.

During the Græco-Roman Period (306 B.C. - 284 A.D.), much work was carried out around the Sphinx, as monuments found in the vicinity prove. The ugly, outer casing of its paws was probably made during the Roman Period. Under Marcus Aurelius (161 - 180 A.D.) and Septimus Severus (193 - 211 A.D.), the pavement of the Sphinx Court was restored. Under Antinous (138 - 161 A.D.) and Verus (161 - 169 A.D.), the retaining walls were reinforced. This is proved by inscriptions found in the immediate neighbourhood of the Sphinx (1).

During this period, the Sphinx enjoyed a vogue as a popular place of pilgrimage, which practically

(1) VYSE, "*Operations carried on at the Pyramids*", Vol. III, p. 119.

continued until the end of Paganism (IVth Century A.D.). Thereafter, we hear little of the statue, which, neglected, was soon buried up to the neck in the sand, in which state it remained until recent times. However, some traces of the Sphinx cult lingered on in the traditions of the locality, and were mentioned by the Arab historians

MODERN EXCAVATIONS

THE French engineers of Napoleon's Expedition were supposed to have made a considerable excavation in front of the Sphinx, and had discovered a door, just at the very moment when they were compelled to suspend their operations. Some of the local inhabitants, who claimed to have been present at the time of the discovery, told Mariette that they had seen this door, which they said, led into the body of the Sphinx. Others went one better, and said that it led up to the Second Pyramid !

What they actually saw was most probably the Granite Stela of Thothmes IV, which, to the untutored mind, may bear some resemblance to a door, and the details were supplied by an active imagination and the hope of liberal reward !

In 1816, Captain Caviglia commenced to excavate the Sphinx, starting from the north by digging a trench towards the shoulder of the statue. He experienced great difficulty, as well as danger to the lives of his workers and himself, by reason of the loose sand which constantly threatened to pour into the trench and bury them all. But by means of planks of wood, he was able to hold back the sand

sufficiently to enable him to reach down to the base of the statue. By this means, he was able to measure the height of the monument from the pavement to the top of the head. He also noted the double layer of casing on the body and paws, and the remains of the red colour with which it had been painted.

The trench in which he and his men were working was about 20 feet wide at the top, but only about 3 feet wide at the bottom, and as it was such a constant source of peril to all concerned, Caviglia decided to abandon operations for the time being.

Later, he undertook excavations on a much larger scale, working from the front of the Sphinx. He employed between sixty to one hundred workmen, and worked from the beginning of March until the end of June.

The first discovery of any importance was a fragment of the beard of the Sphinx, and then the head of the uraeus from its brow. A little later, he brought to light the Granite Stela of Thothmes IV, and the two limestone stelae of Rameses II, in a little temple between the paws of the Sphinx. A stone lion was found *in situ*, as though guarding the entrance to this temple, and fragments of other lions, as well as the head of a small Sphinx, were also found. All these remains, as well as the masonry of the Temple, were painted red.

Clearing eastwards, he soon came to the granite altar between the paws. Caviglia mentioned that this altar bore traces of fire when discovered, and suggested that these came from the burnt offerings. In this connection, it is interesting to note that in some of the stelae which we discovered, worshippers are represented presenting burnt offerings to the Sphinx (Figs. 13, 14).

After much difficulty, and in constant danger from the shifting sands, Caviglia then cleared eastwards along the paws, noting the Greek graffiti inscribed upon them, and continued, still in an easterly direction, for over 100 feet. Here he came to a spectacular staircase of thirty steps, leading to a landing, from which a further flight of thirteen steps, ascended to the level of the Plateau. This staircase, which was flanked by mud-brick walls, was of a very late construction, and even contained stones taken from Greek buildings in the neighbourhood. On the landing of the staircase was a small erection resembling a cross between a church pulpit and an auctioneer's rostrum, and boasting a pair of columns which did nothing to improve its appearance. On it was inscribed a poem in honour of the Sphinx (*see* p. 236).

Before finally abandoning his task, Caviglia traced the approach to the Sphinx for another 136 feet, and stated that it took the form of a ramp, flanked on the south by a mud-brick wall

From this, it will be seen that the temple, which we now know to be situated in front of the Sphinx, must have been completely buried at a very early time. Indeed, it seems to have disappeared before the XVIIIth Dynasty, for when, in 1448 B.C., Amenhotep II built his temple to the north of the Sphinx, he actually laid his foundations in such a way as to bridge the western end of the northern passage of the older temple, which must have been completely choked with debris to allow him to do so.

Thus, in the Roman Period, they apparently built their staircase and ramp over the whole width of the temple, and were totally unaware of its existence.

With the exception of the lower part of the Granite Stela and the Stelae of Rameses II, all the monuments discovered by Caviglia have disappeared, some dispersed among the museums of the world, while others are untraced. Howard Vyse sent the two stelae of Rameses II to England, but by some mystery, one of them is now to be seen in the Louvre at Paris (1).

(1) Boreux Guide, "*Antiquités Egyptiennes*", Vol. I, pp. 62, 63

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(1) BOREUX GUIDE, "*Antiquités Égyptiennes*", Vol I. pp. 62, 63

In the year 1853, Mariette began to examine the Sphinx, but he did not make a thorough clearance of the monument; therefore, the conclusions which he formed are mostly erroneous. One of his theories was that the Sphinx was a natural phenomenon of Nature and that all that the sculptor had done, was to slightly touch up the features, which he admits was skilfully done ! He noticed the double layer of casing on the body and paws, and decided that this was originally done to hide the faults in the rock. He also noted that the monument had been repaired several times, first, under Thothmes IV, and at intervals, down to the final unsightly restoration of Græco-Roman times. According to the opinion of Mariette, it was this continual addition of coats of masonry that was the cause of the great disproportion between the head, body and paws.

In attempting to solve the riddle of the blind chambers at the sides of the Sphinx, he made the absurd statement that they were designed to support the curve of the belly ! And this, notwithstanding the fact that the flanks of the creature lie flat along the ground for their entire length.

Mariette also shared the general opinion that there is a hidden chamber concealed in or under the Sphinx. He denied the fact that the Sphinx rests upon a pedestal, in the manner in which it is often

shown upon the stelae; and moreover, he must have been entirely ignorant of the existence of the Temple of the Sphinx, for he declares that the monument was designed on a large scale, and lacked detail, as it was only intended to be viewed from a distance.

He also gravely stated that the sand with which the Sphinx was encumbered when he saw it, was not wind-borne, but had been deposited there artificially, when, by whom, and for what reason he omits to tell us !

Nevertheless, Mariette's work was a step in the right direction, and most of the errors into which he fell are due to the fact that he was working in the half-dark. It is quite impossible to form an accurate opinion of any monument until both it and its surroundings are cleared from the sand and debris right down to the level of the natural rock.

In his report on the excavations which he carried out at the Sphinx (1), Maspero gave the early history of the statue so far as it was known to him, but added nothing new to the facts already published by Caviglia and Mariette.

He then goes on to tell us of the two motives which led him to undertake the task of excavating the Sphinx. First, at that time, all the work of the

(1) MASPERO, "*Etudes de Mythologie et Archæologie Egyptiennes*", Vol. I, p. 250.

Antiquities Department was confined to Upper Egypt, and thus was inaccessible to those tourists who do not travel beyond Cairo. He felt that it was only just to provide something of interest for these people, and decided that the best present he could offer them was the spectacle of the Sphinx revealed.

The second reason was, as he put it : " The Sphinx has not yet told us all his secrets ", and he recalls how Pliny, (23 B.C.) on the testimony of an Alexandrian historian, was of the opinion that it contained the tomb of King Harmakhis. The Arab writers were also convinced that the Sphinx covered a subterranean chamber, which they expected to find full of treasure. It was partly this idea which had prompted Caviglia to undertake the excavation of the Sphinx ; while some aged men of the district showed Maspero a hole which Perring had forced in the back of the Sphinx in an attempt to reach this supposed hidden chamber. Maspero argued that perhaps one might recognize a grain of truth in the tradition related by Pliny and the Arab writers. The monuments upon which the Great Sphinx is figured (Figs. 10, 12, 13, 14) show the statue couchant upon a pedestal as high as the statue itself, and sometimes decorated with the panelling so beloved by the architects of the Old Kingdom (about 2900-2675 B.C).

The Egyptian artists did not change the form and attributes of their gods from mere caprice, and if the Sphinx was represented as couchant upon a pedestal, it very probably was so. This does not mean to say that it rested upon an isolated cube, free on all sides, as the pedestal of an ordinary statue. It is sufficient that the rock is cut down vertically on three sides, or on one side only, that which faced the plain, for the Egyptians to consider it as being seated on a pedestal as represented on the stela of Thothmes IV.

If we admit the existence of a pedestal, the story related by Pliny would not be impossible, and the tomb might exist, not in the body of the Sphinx itself, but in the rectangular mass upon which it is couched Moreover, if the tomb did not exist, Maspero rightly considered that he had the hope of discovering some important facts concerning the Sphinx; and he asks that if the Sphinx itself was repeatedly buried by the sand, how much more rapid would be the burial of its pedestal ? Perhaps it had not been visible since the time of Khafra. It had certainly been forgotten by the time of Thothmes IV, and he did not descend lower than the level of the paws.

Maspero then stated that the Sphinx was the most ancient monument in Egypt, and [illegible] if it

making an appeal on the behalf of the Sphinx as he had previously done in 1884 on behalf of the work at Luxor.

The "*Journal des Debats*" took upon itself to open a subscription for this object in France, and M. Renan waxed eloquent on the interest that the proposed excavations would afford. The sum asked for was 15,000 francs, which seemed to Maspero to be sufficient for the first step. This amount was collected and placed at his disposal within three days.

His plan of campaign was to clear the Sphinx down to the level of the rock, thus restoring the monument to the state in which it was during the middle of the IInd Century A.D. The walls were to be repaired in the places where they were damaged, so as to check the encroachment of the sand, and enable the sum of a few hundred francs a year annually, to keep the monument clean and neat. When this clearance had been accomplished, he intended to experiment with the monster in order to see if the pedestal existed or not. In the event of finding the pedestal, he intended to raise a further subscription — which, as he put it, would give all Europe the chance of sharing in the honour of the discovery.

The 15,000 francs, however, were barely sufficient to clear away such a vast amount of sand as [illegible]

found necessary to modify the procedure usually adopted. Formerly, the debris taken from the monuments was dumped to right and left of the excavations, but it soon became imperative to transport it as far as possible onto the plain, in order that the waters of the next inundation might carry it away.

Maspero was able to purchase a set of waggons and about 800 metres of rails, at a very cheap rate, and instead of transporting them to Luxor, as he had originally intended, he brought them to Giza during the last days of December 1885, and the first trench was opened in the second week of January 1886, beginning at a distance of about 50 metres from the chest of the Sphinx.

As soon as the work was commenced, Maspero's duties as an Inspector of the Antiquities Department, called him to Upper Egypt, and he was compelled to leave the work in the charge of the Reises (headmen) of the Pyramid guards, under the supervision of Brugsch Bey, the Keeper of the Cairo Museum. He had no uneasiness in thus leaving the work, for in his opinion, it was not a task requiring a great amount of archæological skill, being merely a matter of re-exposing the ground already worked by Caviglia and Mariette.

Brugsch Bey did his work well, but after fifteen days of excavation without having reached the Roman Staircase, he became impatient, and moved the work to beneath the chin of the Sphinx. Results were quickly forthcoming, and most of what Caviglia had seen, the stela of Thothmes IV and the little temple between the paws of the Sphinx, were again laid bare.

But the modification of Maspero's original plan had mixed results. On one hand, it was disappointing, as it considerably augmented the expenses. On the other hand, it gave great joy to the tourists and the residents of Cairo, arousing their interest in what Maspero quaintly terms "Platonic way", with the exception of one Colonel of the Indian Army, who was ready to put up a relatively large sum of money for the work, through the hands of Mr. Moncrieff. Apart from this instance, no one else subscribed.

The Fellahin, as well as the people of Cairo, refused, and still do refuse, to believe that the excavations were carried on merely for the sake of Science. Twenty stories of hidden treasure, originated by El-Makrizi and El-Boghdady, the old Arab writers, were revived. According to the most "authentic" account, Maspero was searching for the Cup of Solomon, the Son of David, which

buried under the Sphinx. This cup was said to have been cut from a single onyx of great size, and possessed peculiar properties. When liquid was poured into it, it at once began to spin round, and if it turned from right to left, it was a sign of prosperity; but if the liquid turned from left to right, it was an omen of calamity.

It was not explained how the Cup of Solomon came to be hidden under the Sphinx! Anyhow, the Afreets (demons) were playing a bad joke on poor Maspero, for he never found this mysterious and most useful cup!

The first part of the programme was then put well under way of execution, but in the middle of May, the waggons and rails were found to be inadequate; therefore Maspero bought a set of Decauville cars, larger and more solid than he had previously used, and said how deeply he regretted not having used them from the start. Their purchase was one of the last acts of his administration, and he was of the opinion that had he possessed them earlier, he could have conducted many of the excavations which he had been compelled to refuse.

The clearance was almost finished, when the diggers were sent back to their villages in Upper Egypt, as there was no prospect of finding anything new.

In concluding, Maspero says that in his opinion, long months would have to elapse before anything of fresh interest could be reached, and the truth or otherwise, of his hypothesis could be proved Nevertheless, after he was re-called, the work of excavating the Sphinx was undertaken by Grebaut, who, after bringing to light the walls examined by Mariette in 1888, abandoned the excavations a few weeks before his death, and thus the problem remained practically as Maspero had found it

From this account, it will be seen that Maspero also dallied with the idea of subterranean chambers and hidden treasure Yet he was the first to attempt to clear the Sphinx or anything like scientific lines, and it is unfortunate that it was not until the very end of his administration that he hit upon a sound mode of procedure. But we cannot share his optimism in leaving the work in the charge of his Reises, excellent men though they may be. An Archæologist has a heavy responsibility to bear, an obligation to the people of the Past, and to those of his own generation, and it is only the faithful fulfilment of these trusts that justifies him in unearthing what the sand has so long covered and preserved.

The next interval between the clearances of the Sphinx was, so far as we know, the shortest one, and

in 1925 M. Baraize was entrusted by the Antiquities Department to carry out excavations there on their behalf.

M. Baraize certainly freed the Sphinx from all sides, but instead of clearing the sand away altogether, he constructed huge, barrage-like walls to hold it back; and these walls became one of our most laborious tasks when it became necessary to demolish them in 1936 - 1937. I believe that M. Baraize had taken his inspiration from the monuments of the Old Kingdom, and had built for eternity !

It was now seen that the Sphinx was in a perilous condition for in addition to the fact that the sand had eaten deeply into the softer parts of the rock, wearing the neck to such a degree of thinness, that there was a strong possibility of the first storm sending the great head crashing to the ground; but the senseless and criminal action of Perring in boring holes in the monument was also a grave source of danger, lest water collecting in them from the winter rains, should cause the stone to split. Therefore, it was decided to effect a restoration that would safeguard the Sphinx, and at the same time, be unobtrusive. The results, I think, are admirable. The lappets of the nemes head-dress of the Sphinx have been filled in to their original contour with limestone masonry, and

thus support the great weight of the head; while the wide cracks which were slashed across the face, and which were yearly increasing in size, were filled in and coloured to match the rest of the "complexion". A hole that existed in the head of the statue was also filled in, and a shaft in the back, as well as a cavity lying between the back of the stela and the breast of the Sphinx, all were fitted with iron doors which tightly closed them.

The Sphinx may now be said to be in a safer condition than it has ever been, since the last priest made his farewell prayers before it.

During the course of his excavations, around the Sphinx and in its temple, M. Baraize recovered some interesting objects, including some Græco-Roman Stelae, a limestone slab, apparently part of a cornice, bearing the cartouches of Rameses II, and some foundation deposits from the Temple of Amenhotep II, which at that time was still undiscovered. Foundation deposits usually consist of model tools and implements and vessels, real, or more usually, model offerings, small samples of the materials used in the building, and plaques bearing the name of the builder. These objects were buried in a small cavity in the foundations of a temple or tomb, laid upon a bed of clean sand. The object of this custom

was to magically provide an inexhaustible supply of materials for the maintenance of the building.

The foundation deposits discovered by M. Baraize consisted of a set of alabaster model vases, bearing inscriptions inlaid with some dark pigment; these inscriptions, which are identical read : " The Good God, Aa-kheperu-Ra (Amenhotep II) beloved of Hor-em-akhet (1)". There was also an oval plaque of alabaster, bearing the same inscription as the vases, some model instruments of copper, and a great quantity of pottery of various forms. M. Baraize also recovered three stelae of a series erected by Thothmes IV, and which will be dealt with in detail elsewhere, and several other stelae belonging to private persons. He also discovered a series of miniature votive Sphinxes of limestone and plaster, these are coloured red, which seems to have been the traditional colour of the Sphinx.

Another find of importance was a limestone doorway of a mud-brick building, which bears an inscription mentioning the Sphinx under the name of Ḥwrna, a foreign name which will be discussed elsewhere.

(1) The name Hor-em-akhet which means " Horus in the Horizon ", was given *only* to the Great Sphinx of Giza.

As before mentioned, M Baraize also partially cleared the great IVth Dynasty temple lying in front of the Sphinx, and which, I think, we are fully justified in calling the Temple of the Sphinx, although it had apparently no direct connection with that monument

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THE FOURTH DYNASTY TEMPLE OF THE SPHINX

THE position of this temple, immediately in front of the Sphinx, leads us to name it the Temple of the Sphinx. This name has hitherto been borne by the Valley Temple of Khafra, the real nature of which having been misunderstood by the early Egyptologists.

The Temple of the Sphinx is a massive construction of the typical IVth Dynasty type. Lying a few paces to the north of the Valley Temple of Khafra, it seems, as far as the façade is concerned to be designed on the same lines. The two temples are both facing east, and each has an entrance in the northern and southern ends of its façade, and these façades are lying in line with each other. Moreover, both temples are constructed of a core of limestone masonry, and cased inside and outside with blocks of finely dressed granite. The size of some of the blocks forming the core masonry of the Sphinx Temple is enormous, rivalling, and indeed, often exceeding three times the size of the stones used in building the Great Pyramid (1). The fact that these gigantic stones

(1) The average weight of the blocks of stone used in the construction of the Great Pyramid is two and a half tons each.



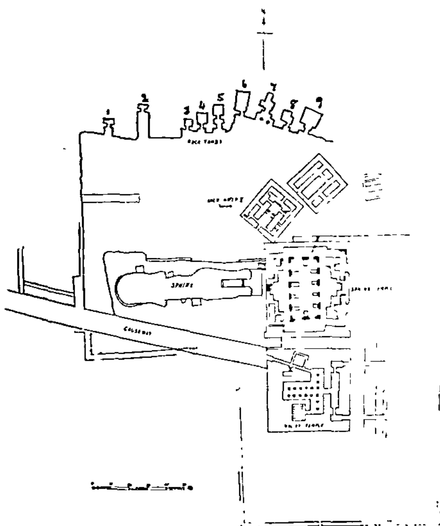


Fig. 2.—Plan of the Sphinx and Surrounding Monuments

were quarried locally does not lessen our admiration for the skill and organization that manouvered them into position (Fig. 1).

Beyond the façade, the similarity between the two buildings ceases, the interior arrangement of the Temple of the Sphinx being entirely different to that of its neighbour, proving that it had been designed for a different purpose. Here it may be mentioned that this building is the oldest divine temple, as distinct from a royal Mortuary Temple, yet discovered in Egypt.

Throughout the entire temple, it will be noticed that all its important features are duplicated (*see* Plan, Fig. 2). For example, we find two entrances, two sets of chambers in the western wall, two outer passages, etc. This duality was designed to harmonize with the conception of the King in his dual role of King of Upper and Lower Egypt.

Before its unification by Mena, in the beginning of the Ist Dynasty (3100 B.C.), Egypt had consisted of two separate kingdoms, that of Upper Egypt and that of Lower Egypt.

Throughout the whole long period of Egyptian history, the duality of the land, and the dual nature of the king were never forgotten ; Egypt remained

"the Two Lands", and was ruled by the "King of Upper and Lower Egypt", who wore the "Double Crown". Even the state departments were duplicated!

The Temple of the Sphinx is now in a sadly ruinous condition, and practically all that remains is the massive core masonry, almost totally denuded of the red granite with which it was cased, and the fine alabaster which paved its magnificent court. But all the essential constructional details remain, and allow us to gather some idea of what the temple looked like in the Past.

Immediately inside the entrances are the porter's rooms, and short, wide passages leading directly into the great court, which measures 46 × 23 metres. This court was once surrounded by a colonnade, supported on massive, rectangular pillars, each of which seems to have been fronted by a colossal statue of the King who built the temple, and who probably had the Sphinx carved as well. The centre of the court was left open to the sky, thus affording the worshippers a magnificent view of the Sphinx.

In the centre of the eastern and western walls of the court are two great recesses, receding back in two stages. They recall the form of the "false

doors" of the Old Kingdom tombs, and like these, they may have contained inscribed stelae. On the other hand, they may have contained statues of the God. But whatever it was that they were designed to accommodate, the fact that they are orientated due east and west, as is the axis of the Temple, suggests that it was something appertaining to the rising and the setting sun.

A very interesting feature occurs in the western wall of the court, which is cut in the natural rock to a height of 2·50 metres and supplemented by enormous blocks of limestone in its upper part. This rock-cut part of the wall forms the front edge of the pedestal of the Sphinx, the existence of which Maspero suspected, but was unable to prove. Indeed when the temple was intact, and was surmounted by its characteristic cornice, the Sphinx must have appeared from the valley or from the court of the temple, as though it were resting upon a large pedestal, just as it is represented on the votive stelae (Frontispiece). The fact that some of the stelae show doors in the pedestal may be accounted for by the door-like slits in the western wall.

To the north of the great court is a passage running from east to west. The [illegible]

passage is blocked by a rock-cut wall, above which it is choked up with debris to the level of the Plateau, and the foundations of the later temple of Amenhotep II were laid bridgewise across it.

A similar passage exists on the south of the building, and separates it from the Valley Temple of Khafra. This passage gives access to the real court of the Sphinx, from its south-eastern corner. It also proves conclusively that the two temples are entirely separate from each other, even though they conform in outward appearance and in the materials from which they are constructed.

The Dating and Identification of the Temple of the Sphinx

Judging by the style of the architecture, the massive construction, absence of decoration and inscription, we may safely assign this temple to a date not exceeding the middle of the IVth Dynasty, that is to say about 2900 B.C.

Its position immediately in front of the Sphinx, and the dissimilarity of its internal arrangement to any known Mortuary Temple, make it certain that it is a divine temple, dedicated to the worship of the Sphinx.

It is a curious fact that beyond the southern external passage just referred to, there is no direct communication between this temple and the actual court of the Sphinx. Perhaps the statue was regarded as so holy that approach to it was forbidden to all, save only the King and the higher ranks of the priesthood. This was certainly the rule with regard to the cult statues in later Egyptian temples.

THE LATEST EXCAVATIONS UNDERTAKEN AT THE GREAT SPHINX (The Discovery of the Great Limestone Stela and the Temple of Amenhotep II)

In the year 1936, the excavations of the Cairo University, of which I was the Director, was transferred to the Antiquities Department, and thus, I was able to start work on the site surrounding the Sphinx. It has always been my life dream to excavate this spot. I had tried many times before, in vain, to get permission to work there, but the site was reserved exclusively for the Antiquities Department, which was carrying on the work there in a desultory fashion.

Thanks to the work of M. Baraize, and the protective walls built by him, the actual court of the Sphinx, as well as most of its temple, was comparatively free from sand, and merely needed some cleaning. But this was only for a very limited area, and the remainder of the surroundings of the Sphinx were wholly encumbered with fine, loose sand, stones and debris, the accumulation of the ages, to say nothing of the ruins of mud-brick buildings of different periods.



Fig. 3A.—The Sphinx Site before Excavation

Fig. 3B.—The Same after Excavation

The site had clearly been in this condition since the Sphinx first came into existence, none of the modern excavators ever having attempted to clear this part

Notwithstanding the advantages of more modern methods and equipment, we experienced many of the difficulties and dangers which had beset Caviglia, from the ever-present menace of the treacherous sand-dunes. Thus, to follow our usual procedure, and clear the site down to the level of the natural rock, was a titanic task, some idea of which may be gathered by comparing the photographs of the site before we had started work and when we finished (Fig. 3 *A*, *B*).

In order to effect as rapid clearance as possible, we sometimes arranged our truck lines in three superposed levels, and sometimes spread out fanwise. Each of these tracks was running a group of twelve trucks, each truck having a load capacity of one cubic metre. This system resulted in the removal of about 1,300 cubic metres of sand daily, which was deposited at a distance of over one kilometre far from the site.

We commenced our season's work at a spot lying close to the northern and eastern protective walls built by M. Baraize, and which we were now forced

to demolish before we could get down to our task of excavating. There were also some later mud-brick structures at this spot, which after planning, photographing and recording, we were forced to pull down. This is always the case when excavating a site which has been occupied at different successive periods, the later remains being always built over the sand-engulfed ruins of the earlier structures.

But an even more exciting find awaited us. On September 20, our men were working on the clearance of some apparently uninteresting mud-deposits, and ruined mud-brick buildings, at a spot a little to the north of the Sphinx, and only a few paces far from where the previous excavations of the Antiquities Department had ended. Out of this unpromising jumble of decayed mud-brick and sand, suddenly appeared what seemed to be the rounded top of a large stone stela. Eagerly we concentrated all our efforts on sinking a shaft down the face of the stone, and found that our suppositions were correct, and that we had discovered a large limestone stela of the XVIIIth Dynasty type, bearing twenty-seven rows of well-cut hieroglyphs, in a perfect state of preservation (1).

(1) For a translation of this stela, see p. 178.



Fig. 4.—A Votive Lion

Only the rounded top of the monument, which had apparently been long exposed to the elements, had suffered erosion, but even here enough remained to show that it had originally borne a double representation of the King presenting offerings to the Sphinx.

With careful haste, we cleared away the mud-deposits and broken potsherds, with which the face of the stela was encumbered, and at length were able to read upon it the cartouche of Amenhotep II, the son and successor of Thothmes III, the great Conqueror and Empire Builder of the XVIIIth Dynasty (1447 B.C.).

In the debris, surrounding this stela, we found many votive figures of lions and sphinxes, these seemingly having been particularly sacred to the Great Sphinx and the solar cult. These votive figures were made of various materials, including bronze, faience and limestone. One of the most attractive of these votive lions is shown in Fig. 4.

On continuing our work of clearing the front and back of the limestone stela, we found that at about four metres from its base lay the remains of a thick wall of mud-bricks. After a day spent on clearing this structure, we received a clue as to its meaning. This took the form of a fine door-post of [illegible]

limestone, bearing the cartouche of the Pharaoh Mer-en-Ptah, a son of Rameses II, and the so-called Pharaoh of the Exodus (1225-1215 B.C.). Near-by in the sand, we found some inscribed and sculptured slabs, clearly belonging to a temple. Two days later another door-post, fellow to the first one, came to light.

The following weeks were spent in tracing the area of this temple, and if the progress of the work seems slow to the reader, we must mention that the causes of delay were happy ones, being nothing less than the constant appearance of small but interesting monuments, all of which required time and care to deal with, and which, of course, were photographed *in situ* before removal for cleaning and study. These small monuments consisted chiefly of votive objects, such as figures of lions, sphinxes and hawks, small stelae and plaques. Other large and important stelae also came to light, many of which possess great historical and philological value, as we shall see later.

By December 31, we were fully satisfied that we had traced the full extent of the temple, which was found to be a mud-brick structure with very thick walls, and embellished with fine white Tura limestone.

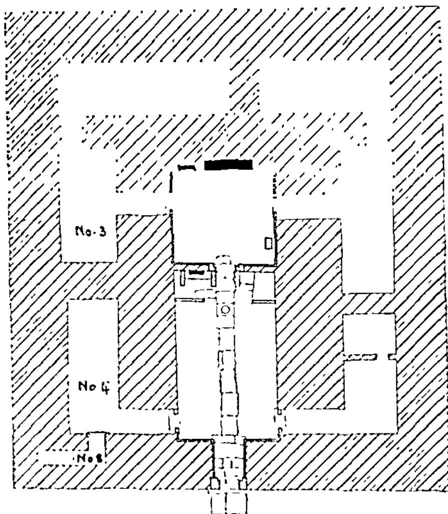
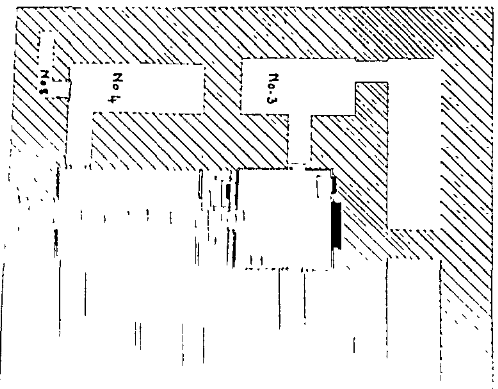


Fig. 5.—Plan of the Temple of Amenhotep II

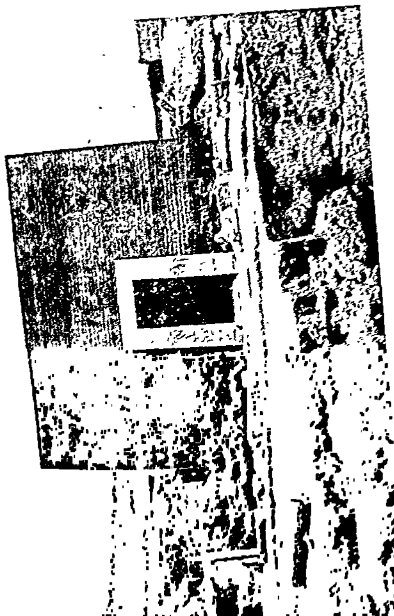
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he Entrance to the Temple of



The building consisted of one long hall, a smaller hall, and six roomy side-chambers (*see* Plan, Fig. 5) The entrance opens to the south and affords a splendid view of the head and forequarters of the Sphinx In the main body of the Temple, the walls were cased with white limestone to a height of 80 cm., and much of this casing remains *in situ*. The threshold of the main entrance is paved with white limestone, and was guarded by a pair of sphinxes of the same material, one of which we found, but its fellow had "deserted his post (Fig. 6)" ! In the southern end of the eastern and western walls of the large hall are door-ways of finely carved white limestone, giving access to side-chambers.

A limestone gangway runs down the centre of the large hall, and at its northern end is a shallow, circular depression cut in one of the slabs of which it is composed. Such depressions are commonly found to contain circular offering-tables in the Old Kingdom tombs, but such an object would have been out of the question in its present situation. Therefore, we are forced to conclude that the slab of stone had been "borrowed" from one of the neighbouring tombs, after the usual manner of the ancient Egyptian builder !

The eastern and western corners of this hall have been partitioned off at a later time to form two small

chapels, and in one of them was found *in situ* a stela erected by the Pharaoh Seti I, the father of Rameses II (1313-1292 B.C.), of the XIXth Dynasty. On it is a scene representing the Pharaoh hunting the wild game of the desert (*see* p. 210).

At the end of the limestone gangway, down the centre of the large hall, is the entrance to the smaller hall of the temple, wherein was housed the limestone stela of Amenhotep II, and which occupies the centre of its northern wall. This great stela was found to be mounted upon massive blocks of limestone, and still in its original position.

Near to this stela was discovered another one, considerably smaller, but also bearing the name of Amenhotep II and possessing some interesting features (*see* p. 186).

To the left of the small stela was the pedestal and feet of a statue of Queen Tyaa, the wife of Amenhotep II, and mother of Thothmes IV. The delicacy and beauty of this fragment makes us regret all the more the loss of the rest of the statue, for notwithstanding all our efforts, we were only able to recover one other fragment, a small piece of the plinth.

At the northern end of the eastern and western walls of the inner hall are door-ways, also of

sculptured limestone, giving access to two side-chambers, similar to those at the southern end of the building.

Thus, the temple was practically complete in all its parts and although the walls were denuded down to less than half their original height in many places, the plan of the building remained perfectly preserved.

When it became a question of finding some means of preserving the great limestone stela of Amenhotep II from possible injury, the state of the temple immediately suggested to me the idea of effecting a restoration which would not only protect the stela, but would have the advantage of preserving the sculptured stone door-ways as well, and at the same time, show off these monuments to the best possible advantage, by placing them in the very positions for which they had been designed. All that was required in this connection was to clean the inscriptions, set the door-posts and lintels into their places, and continue the walls up to a suitable height, and finally roof the whole structure over.

In effecting this restoration, I used locally made mud-bricks in order to match the original structure as well as possible. In order to give added strength burnt-brick pillars and iron girders were used internally (Fig. 6).

When this restoration was complete, it was approved of by many persons, experts and otherwise, but in spite of this, no sooner had I left the Antiquities Department than this restoration was promptly demolished, and for some time the stela and sculptured door-ways were left exposed to the elements. Finally, the inscribed monuments were covered over with unsightly wooden planks, and thus the temple has remained ever since.

It seems that the ancient custom of destroying a predecessor's monuments did not die out at the end of the Pharaonic Regime, after all !

We are in no doubt as to whom the foundation of this temple should be attributed, for the text of the great limestone stela tells us that both it and the stela itself were erected at the command of Amenhotep II, in the fulfilment of a vow which he made as a boy, when visiting the Sphinx and Pyramids. But the entire temple cannot be attributed to him; his were the inner hall and its stelae, but the outer hall and its chapels seem to have been added by later kings, even down to the time of Rameses IV of the XXth Dynasty (1167 - 1161 B.C.).

DISCOVERIES IN THE TEMPLE AREA

The "Ear-Tablets"

While the excavation of the mud-brick temple of Amenhotep II was in progress, a considerable number of small antiquities were daily coming to light in the temple area and its immediate surroundings. As before mentioned, these mostly took the form of votive offerings, stelae, etc. The number of these latter monuments prove the popularity of the Sphinx as a place of pilgrimage, for all persons who could afford to do so, either kings or commoners, desired to leave a lasting memento of their visit to the holy Image. Some of these stelae are real works of art, others appear to have been the work of amateurs, whose piety apparently exceeded their skill!

In a class by themselves are a series of small stelae which we call "ear-tablets", from the fact that their principal feature is a representation of one or more human ears. These "ear-tablets" have also been found at Memphis in the surroundings of the Temple of Ptah, and many theories have been put forward to explain their use. It was [illegible] that they were dedicated [illegible]

obtaining a cure for their affliction (1). Others are of the opinion that they were made in order to draw the attention of the god to the prayers of the supplicant. Petrie says (2): " To obtain the attention of the God, there arose the strange custom of carving ears on the tablet of prayers. Thus it was thought that the god would more readily hear the petitions. In one example there are dozens of ears on a single tablet ".

Most probably we should regard these sculptured ears as substitutes for the ears of the god. Thus, the devotee would make a pilgrimage to some sacred spot, dedicate an ear-tablet to the god of the sanctuary, and make his petition orally into the ear, which was then set up in the wall of the temple, or buried in the sand surrounding it. The ear would then retain the prayer of the devotee, and his petition would receive the attention of the God. In other words, it was " filed for reference " !

The inscribed ear-tablets nearly all bear the words " made by " followed by the name of the donor. This seems to be referring to the prayer made into the ear, and not to the tablet itself, as one might think at first glance.

(1) WILKINSON, "*The Ancient Egyptians*", Vol. III, p. 395.
(2) PETRIE, "*Religious Life in Ancient Egypt*", p. 195.



Fig. 7.—The Ear Tablet of Hwy

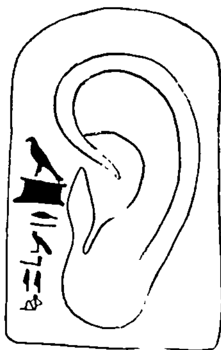


Fig. 8.—The Ear-Tablet of May

Spiegelberg was of the opinion that those tablets bearing multiple ears may refer to an obscure god who was said to have possessed 77 ears and 77 eyes (1) More likely, they were intended to receive separate petitions, one for each ear. Or they may even be a "safety first" device, based on the idea that if some of the ears should be destroyed, one, at least, might survive and store up its prayers for the god's attention.

Among the notable examples of these ear-tablets found in our excavations, mention may be made of the following :—

(1) This stela, which is of limestone, shows the two ears of the god carved in low relief, and between them the God Hor-em-akhet, in the form of a hawk. At the bottom, a horizontal inscription reads "Made by Hwy" (Fig. 7).

(2) A very fine specimen, showing a single ear modelled in high relief, and beside it a small figure of the God Hor-akhty in the form of a hawk, perching upon a high pedestal. It is inscribed : "Made by May" and is probably the work of the notorious May whose misdeeds we have had occasion to complain of in a previous chapter (Fig. 8).

(3) A miniature ear in green faience, uninscribed

(1) Spiegelberg, "*Rec. Trav.*" Vol. 26, p. 26

(4) A very interesting tablet bearing a large single ear in high relief, and beneath it the incised figures of two hawks wearing the Double Crown and standing beak to beak, as though whispering together. Are they divine hawks repeating the prayers of the devotees into the ear of the God (Fig. 9)?

(5) A round-topped stela bearing no less than 31 ears. On the lower part is a scene representing the donor kneeling in adoration before the Sphinx. Above the Sphinx is inscribed: "Hor-em-akhet, the Great God, hears". While above the man is inscribed "Made by the clever Scribe Mer" (Fig. 10).

(6) The lower part of a small votive ear of green faience. The name of the God Hor-em-akhet is inscribed upon it in black ink.

(7) A fragment of limestone bearing two ears and a sphinx. The roughness of the work, and the absence of any set style, suggests that it was the work of an unskilled amateur, rather than that of a professional mason (Fig. 11).

(8) A square of limestone upon which are carved two ears. It is uninscribed.

(9) A tablet which originally bore multiple representations of ears. They were very lightly incised, and are now almost invisible. It seems as though this tablet was in the process of being re-used.

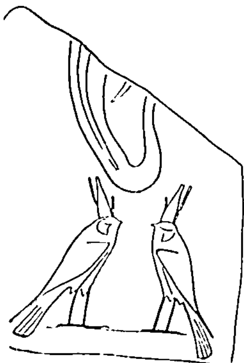


Fig. 9.—The Ear-Tablet with Divine Hawks

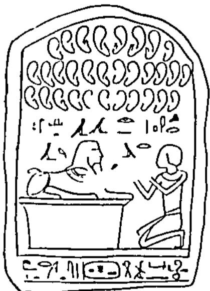


Fig. 10.—An Ear-Tablet with Multiple Ears



Fig. 11.—A Crude Ear-Tablet

These [illegible] are fascinating [illegible] and one wishes that we could know [illegible] that were whispered into them. [illegible] the secrets of his worshippers [illegible] to us of the human hopes [illegible] ears receive. Let us hope that [illegible] granted the prayers of his devotees.

A [illegible]

While one man was digging [illegible] the north of the [illegible] Temple of Amenhotep III, they found [illegible] wooden case containing [illegible] limestone. The case which was [illegible] at once, but the stone was [illegible] preservation. This stone, which [illegible] prayer for offerings, and part of a figure [illegible] performing the ceremonies of [illegible] offerings, seems to have been [illegible] Kingdom tomb in the neighbourhood [illegible] have been done by some [illegible] Period [illegible] B.C., [illegible] trouble will be given the [illegible] for the sake of carrying [illegible] to a monument. Or it may have [illegible] artist who wanted a [illegible]

sculpture in order to study it at leisure in his own studio. In either case, it is almost certain that the theft occurred during the Saitic Period, for this was the time when such an exaggerated value was put on all objects dating from the Old Kingdom.

But, why, having taken the trouble to cut the stone out of its place, which seems to have been a door-way, and having made a wooden case especially to fit it, the stone should then be abandoned, it is difficult to say. Perhaps it was merely abandoned because its weight and bulk made it difficult to carry away; or, perhaps, surprised by the cemetery guards, the thief dropped it in his flight, and it lay where it fell, until the shovels of our men brought it once more to the light of day.

Late Burials

Lying immediately to the west of the temple were a number of large pottery jars. They were sealed with mud, and still retained their original contents, which proved to be cremated human remains.

These jars, which were simply buried in the loose sand, date from the Roman Period, and may represent a family burial.

They are eloquent testimony of the esteem and sanctity in which the neighbourhood of the Sphinx

was held, even by people who did not follow the ancient religion. We had previously found similar jar-burials to these, lying above the mastaba of a certain Queen Rekhit-Ra, of the Vth Dynasty, at a spot a little to the south-west of the Sphinx, in the near-by Necropolis.

Another type of jar-burial came to light near the northern wall of the temple. This time it took the form of two large jars of red pottery, with their mouths fitted together. They contained a human skeleton, but were in too fragile a condition to be moved, so we left them *in situ*. Later, another burial of the same type was revealed a little distance from the last.

These last types of burial recall the Babylonian custom of interring their dead, and in view of the many remains appertaining to foreigners found in this area, we may, perhaps, assume that these jars represent the burials of some long-forgotten Babylonian residents, who died far from their native land.

But it was not only human beings who found a last resting-place in the close vicinity of the Sphinx, for while tracing the northern wall of the temple we found in the [illegible] small [illegible]

red-pottery containing the remains of shrew-mice, a animal sacred to the God Horus of Khemmis (1).

These little animals also figure largely in magic, an must have formed the bulk of the equipment of successful magician, judging by the number of use to which they were put (2).

The reason why these mice, several of which wer buried in each jar, should be interred in this spo may be due to the fact that the bodies of sacre animals sanctified the ground in which they wer buried. On the other hand, they may have bee buried by devotees in the neighbourhood of th Sphinx, because the latter was on some occasion identified with Horus.

We had previously met with an instance in our excavations where an Old Kingdom tomb had been re-employed in later times as a burial-place for the ibis, the sacred bird of Thoth, the God of Wisdom and Learning. A figure of this God had been sculptured upon the western wall of the chapel, and the underground burial-chamber was piled almost to the roof with the mummified bodies of the sacred birds.

(1) MULLER, "*Egyptian Mythology*", p. 165. Horus of Khemmis was a form of Horus the Child, the son of Osiris and Isis. Khemmis was the name of the place in the Delta, in which he passed his infancy. It was also called in Egyptian, "Kheb", from which it derives its modern name of "Kom-el-Khobaiza".

(2) GRIFFITH, "*Demotic Magical Papyrus in London and Leyden*".

THE EXCAVATION OF THE SPHINX AMPHITHEATRE

In addition to the work which was carried out in the Temple of Amenhotep II, the rest of the amphitheatre of the Sphinx was also attended to

It was my aim to clear the whole area, from the Sphinx on the south to the American Concession on the north, and from the western edge of the Sphinx court to the confines of the village of Nezlit-el-Seman on the east. And here it may be added that we purchased and demolished certain hideous modern houses and shops which were standing right in front of the Sphinx, and which had long been an eyesore to the more thoughtful type of tourist. The late King Fouad I of Egypt, as well as the late King Albert of Belgium, both were particularly disgusted by the appearance of these sordid hovels and blatant shops confronting the Sphinx, and made a remark upon them during their visit there in 1930. They were later criticized by the King of Italy on the occasion of his visit in 1934.

As I have already mentioned, the area to the north of the Sphinx was in an almost hopeless state of

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As I have already mentioned, the area to the north of the Sphinx was in an almost hopeless state of

confusion, being littered up with the accumulation of thousands of years. To effect a clearance on anything like scientific lines meant shifting every grain of sand and every scrap of debris, and reaching down to the level of the natural rock. And I am happy to say that in one season we accomplished this task.

As I mentioned before, the trucks were carrying away an average of 1,300 cubic metres of sand and debris daily, and as this clearance went on from October 4, 1936 to June 10, 1937, some idea may be gained of the amount of work we accomplished, namely the clearance of about a quarter of a million cubic metres of sand and debris. The disposal of such a vast amount of unwanted material was in itself a problem, but I hit upon the idea of extending the rails down into the village of Nezlit-el-Seman, and dumping the sand into the stagnant pools and hollows that had long been a source of trouble to the inhabitants of the village.

Of course, the discovery of the great limestone stela of Amenhotep II was the most important and spectacular discovery of the season, rivalled only by the finding of the temple in which it stood. Another find of great importance was a series of votive stelae, which will be described in another chapter. These stelae were a great surprise to us, for we found that

many of them were dedicated by foreign residents in Egypt, and they give the various names under which the Sphinx was known in the XVIIIth Dynasty They also furnish us with the name of the colony in which these people resided, namely the town of Hwronia, most probably the hitherto unidentified Horonopolis

On November 22, 1936, we decided to clear away the debris from the north of the court of the Sphinx Temple, and in so doing we recovered a small, headless sphinx of limestone, coloured red and yellow. It bears the cartouche of King Wah-ib-Ra (588-569 B.C.), the Hophra of the Bible, and the Apries of Herodotus. It proves that the Kings of the Saitic Period visited the Sphinx and dedicated votive figures there.

At the top of the western passage, lying to the north of the Temple of the Sphinx, was a wall of limestone masonry, on one of the blocks of which was an inscription written in Demotic, a script which came into popular use during the Late Period. This inscription was covered by a potsherd, mortared into place to protect it from being effaced. The inscription proved to be a record of a pilgrimage made to the Sphinx. Near to this wall but at a lower level, we found part of a foundation deposit, similar to that found by M. Baraize. It consisted of over

eighty different types of pottery vases, as well as two cylindrical vases of alabaster and a semi-circular piece of alabaster, these last all bearing the name of Amenhotep II.

It seems that one of these foundation deposits had come to light " unofficially ", in recent years, as some blue faience plaques, certainly from one of the foundation deposits of the Temple of Amenhotep II, appeared in the Autumn of 1936 in the collection of an Antiquary in New York. On the advice of M. Capart, these plaques were purchased by the Brooklyn Museum. Some of these plaques bear the same inscription as we have already seen on the model vases and plaque found by M. Baraize, and those from our excavations. However, others are inscribed : " the Good God, Aa-kheperu-Ra, beloved of Hwrna-Hor-em-akhet ". The importance of these latter plaques is that they present to us the earliest mention we have of the foreign name of the Sphinx of Giza, Hwrna, and its association with the usual name, Hor-em-akhet. For this question, *see* p. 146 *ff*.

By December 29, 1936, we had reached the cliff which forms the northern edge of the amphitheatre, and proceeded to work along to the east, and in so doing, revealed a series of rock-cut tombs, mostly dating from the Old Kingdom. Nearly all of them had suffered despoliation and usurpation.

The question is, were these tombs cut before or after the Sphinx came into existence ? So far as we can tell, the actual amphitheatre of the Sphinx was formed when Khufu was quarrying stone for his Pyramid We can deduce this from the fact that the stone surrounding the Sphinx is of the same excellent quality as that of which the Great Pyramid is built These tombs are mostly cut in the northern cliff face, so that they open south, a very unusual orientation for an Old Kingdom tomb, which usually opens to the north or east. Three more tombs are crowded together in the north-east corner of the amphitheatre, and so face east. The remainder of the walls of the amphitheatre, which actually surrounds the Sphinx, have never been used for burial, although tombs cut in them would have had the more orthodox orientation Therefore, we may safely say that the Sphinx precedes these tombs, and as they are mostly of the Late IVth and early Vth Dynasties, they add valuable evidence to the precise dating of the Sphinx

The contents of these tombs, as well as the objects found in their immediate vicinity, are of great interest, for they show the manner in which they had been re-employed in the different successive periods

One fine tomb, which had originally been prepared for a certain Prince Akh-Ra of the Old Kingdom, was certainly re employed during the New Kingdom,

as can be proved by the scene on the façade, representing the God Amon-Ra, and also a figure of a man kneeling in adoration before the Sphinx. This scene is inscribed : "Adoration to Hor-akhty, the Great God, the Lord of Heaven, that he may give favour before his Lord, in praise of Hor-akhty; to the Ka of . . . Mut, the Justified, the Possessor of Honour".

Needless to say, nothing whatever remained of the original burial !

The small objects, which came to light with almost embarrassing abundance during the clearance of these tombs and their surroundings, were of many different kinds and periods.

The only intact tomb of the series proved to be a late interment. The single rock-cut chamber contained two mummies in a fragile state, around them lay the decayed remains of the wooden coffins in which they were originally placed. At their feet were a covered vase and a plate of red pottery.

It is a frequent experience of excavators to find that intact tombs are usually very poor in equipment. That is to say, the ancient tomb-robbers were perfectly well aware that they were not worth the risk and trouble of opening. This throws grave suspicions upon the funerary priests and cemetery guards, as

these would be the only persons likely to know intimate details as to the wealth or otherwise of any particular burial !

Another tomb in this series, this time dating from the Old Kingdom, belonged to a Naval man, named Kai-whem. On the door-post of the main entrance, this paragon of virtue claims that the tomb was his own "true property, never did I cause any artisan to be angry who did work for me in it".

Kai-whem seems to be making one of those denials of bad conduct, for which some of the ancient Egyptians were famed. He apparently claims that the whole of the tomb is his own property, and that the stones had not been usurped from other buildings, as was so often the case. He also claims to have employed paid labour, and not to have resorted to the corvée.

A similar inscription occurs in the tomb of a certain Remenwka, which we discovered in our second season's excavation. It reads : "As to this tomb of eternity, I have made it because I have been well honoured in the presence of men and God. Never have I brought away things of any man to this tomb, on account of remembering the Judgment in the West (1). I made this tomb in exchange for

(1) The West, in Egyptian Amentet, was the land of the dead, ruled over by the God Osiris, before whom the Egyptians expected to be judged after death

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bread and beer, which I gave the artisans who made this tomb. Behold, certainly, I gave them wages very great, out of all linen, which they asked for, and they thanked God for it" (1).

Having excavated and recorded all the tombs in this series, our next task was to clear the ground immediately in front of the northern cliff face, working back southwards to the edge of the cavity in which the Sphinx lies. In this area was a deep layer of sand that had never been disturbed in modern times. Here we made an important find of a fine sandstone statue of a man, a Priest of the Goddess Sekhmet, of Memphis, whose name was Hotep. It dates from the XIIth Dynasty (2000-1788 B.C.).

Near the spot where we found this statue, but not actually with it, were a number of small votive stelae, some of which were inscribed, and some bearing representations of the Sphinx. The most interesting of these shows the Sphinx and Pyramids, rendered in a manner which is unique in the history of Egyptian art, so far as I am aware (Fig. 12). It shows the Sphinx with the two largest pyramids in the background, and is drawn in accordance with modern rules of perspective, of which the Egyptians have always thought to have been ignorant.

(1) There was no coinage in ancient Egypt, and all salaries, commercial transactions, etc., were effected by means of a system of barter.

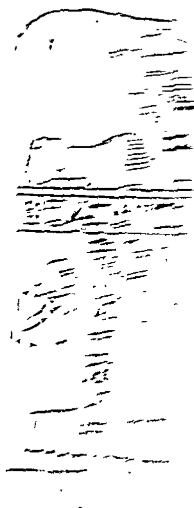
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In Egyptian art, the rule was that any object, particularly sacred subjects, must be drawn with every part visible. For instance, note the statue of the king between the paws of the Sphinx shown in Fig. 39 where it appears in the orthodox manner. That is to say, it is drawn as though it were standing in the air above the paws, while in Fig. 40 it is shown as though it were standing beside them. But in the case of the stela under discussion, the statue is clearly standing between the paws of the Sphinx and the lower part of the legs is hidden by the near foreleg of the colossus. Now observe the pyramids. It is a most unusual thing for an Egyptian scene to show any background at all, and the few cases where such a thing does occur, it is merely suggested in a most conventional manner. In this case, we should expect to see the two pyramids (showing the rectangular base, as in the hieroglyphic sign for pyramid "△") placed one beside the other, and resting in the air well above the head and back of the Sphinx. Instead of this, we see them in perspective, the one slightly overlapping the other, and both their bases hidden by the body of the Sphinx. Moreover, this view can actually be seen by any person standing on the roof of the Valley Temple of Khafra, and looking north-west.

If the artist was so reliable and accurate in his observations on this point, perhaps we may also accept his evidence as to the decoration of the Sphinx, which is depicted as wearing a wide collar, and having its back covered by hawk's plumage.

Above the Sphinx is a flying hawk, and the inscription "Hor-em-akhet, the Twice-great God, the Lord of Heaven". Below it is inscribed: "Made by the Clever Scribe, Mentu-her".

The lower register bears the representation of two men, standing in adoration. The leading figure is perhaps Mentu-her himself, and wears a long wig and a long, full kilt. His companion, who is drawn on a smaller scale, has a shaven head, and carries a scribe's writing outfit slung over his shoulder. Between the two figures is inscribed: "Made by the Scribe Ka-Mut-nekhteu, Justified".

As no relationship is mentioned as existing between the two men, we may surmise that they were master and pupil, who dedicated their joint stela as a memento of a pilgrimage which they made together to the Sphinx and Pyramids.

The reverse side of the stela bears a representation of a woman. It is uninscribed, and it is not certain if she is connected with the men represented on the obverse, or if the stela had been re-used.

The confused state of the site in this place can be seen by the fact that in one spot we recovered a damaged statuette of a man, in pink granite, clearly dating from the Old Kingdom, a number of stelae from the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, votive lions and sphinxes of various periods, and part of the pedestal of a statue of Prince In-ka-ef, of the Old Kingdom, whose tomb is one of the finest of those which we discovered in the northern cliff of the amphitheatre.

Near the edge of the cavity of the Sphinx was a wall of mud-bricks, which seems to have been a recognized place for the dedication of stelae. From it we recovered no less than nine stelae embedded in its fabric, as well as a damaged statuette in a niche. One of the stelae, which was in an almost perfect state of preservation, still bore traces of the brilliant blue and yellow pigment with which it had been painted. If, as seems likely, all these stelae were so coloured, the wall must have presented as gay an appearance as any modern advertisement hoarding.

On March 6, 1937, we came upon the foundations of another mud-brick temple, lying immediately to the north of that of Amenhotep II. It is in a very bad state of preservation, being denuded down to within a few inches of its foundations. It seems to

have been entered from the west by means of a flight of steps leading down from a higher level of ground (*see* Plan. Fig. 2).

This temple seems to be older than that of Amenhotep II, and it may have been built by Thothmes I. the third King of the XVIIIth Dynasty (1501 B.C.). When compared with that of Amenhotep II, its extremely ruinous condition arouses a suspicion that it had been used to furnish material for the later structure !

This site also yielded up many small stelae, and damaged votive figures of lions, sphinxes and hawks.

By March 25, we had reached the modern houses of Nezlit-el-Seman, and proceeded to demolish them. Even here, the sand continued to yield up pottery and votive lions.

By May 27, we had completed the demolition of the huge, barrage-like walls built by M. Baraize to the east of the Sphinx, and had cleared down to the original level of the ground, thus laying bare the real approach to the Sphinx.

And now, once more, the visitor can approach the Sphinx in the manner which was intended by the unknown genius who designed this most wonderful monument.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SPHINX

One is so familiar with the form of the Egyptian Sphinx which has almost come to symbolize Egypt itself, that one is apt to take it for granted, and to accept it without stopping to enquire from whence came its hybrid form Yet like all other things, the Sphinx had a Genesis, and that was the lion

This we can tell from the Pre-dynastic slate palettes, which were used for grinding the material to make the paint with which the Egyptians, even at that remote period, painted their eyes. Of these palettes we will cite two examples. One of these shows a powerful lion in the act of disemboweling a prostrate man of a non-Egyptian type. Other similar men lie dead upon the ground, a prey to the carrion eating birds. To the right of the lion group a living prisoner is marched off by a person wearing a long embroidered robe with an ornamental border.

The second example shows seven symbolical fortified towns, which are the picture signs of their names.

In the case of the town " Kaw ", it is being attacked by a lion, who undermines its foundations with a pick or hoe (1).

According to Sethe, these lions represent the victorious king, and he gives some very sound reasons for his theory. He recalls that the later Egyptians constantly referred to the Pharaoh as a lion, as " like a lion in the battle-field ", " an angry lion ", " a lion among the rulers ", etc., and represented him in this form throughout all periods of Egyptian history.

Amenhotep III was particularly fond of being represented as a lion, and the inscriptions on the two beautiful statues of lions from Gebel Barkal in Nubia state : " He made this monument to his image living on earth, Neb-Maat-Ra (Amenhotep III) ".

The text goes on to refer to the King as mighty lion, beloved by Amon-Ra, the King of the Egyptian Gods during the XVIIIth Dynasty (2). These lions, which are now in the British Museum (3), have been described by Ruskin as being the finest pieces of animal sculpture in the world.

It is a most natural thing for a primitive people, and even for some civilized nations to liken their

(1) The first of these palettes is now in the British Museum. See LEGGE, "*P.S.B.A.*", Vol. XXII, p. 135. For the second palette, see DE MORGAN, "*Recherches sur l'Origion de l'Egypte*", Vol II.

(2) BUDGE, "*The Egyptian Sudan*", p. 618.

(3) BUDGE, "*A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)*", p. 121.

rulers to the most powerful and beautiful animal they knew, and indeed, the lion has filled, and is still fulfilling this role in many different parts of the world. It will be recalled that one of the titles of the Emperor of Abyssinia is "The Lion of Judah", while Chaka, the great King of Zululand, South Africa, was known as the "Black Lion".

We may then say that the kings of Pre-dynastic Egypt were perhaps usually represented as lions, and this allegory was continued into dynastic times.

The king was sometimes represented as bull and the title "Strong bull" remained part of the Pharaonic titulary until the end of Paganism, but the representation of the king in bovine form did not outlast the Archaic Period.

From its strength and courage, the lion came to be regarded as a powerful guardian, and in this manner its figure passed into what may be called "magical decoration", in which, since Pre-dynastic times, we find the lion acting the part of guardian.

In ancient Egypt, its image formed the arms of chairs, and its limbs the legs (1). It also forms the pedestal upon which rests the throne of the king (2).

(1) WILKINSON, "*The Ancient Egyptians*", Pl. XI; and the statue of Khafra, Cairo Museum. STEINDORFF, "*Die Kunst der Ägypter*", p 179

(2) Reliefs on the walls of the causeway of Wnas at Sakkara

The elongated figure of a lion formed the framework of beds for the living, guarding the sleeper from natural and supernatural enemies [1] and fulfilled the same function of the biers of the dead [2]. Its image, in relief or in the round, guarded the temple doorways as at Deir-el-Bahari in Western Thebes, or even as in the little temple between the paws of the Great Sphinx at Giza. A tame lion followed the king into battle, and perhaps also played the part of Palace watch-dog in times of peace, as we see in the case of Rameses II; while from a relief at Medinet Habu, in Western Thebes, we know that a tame lion accompanied Rameses III in the religious processions. Figures of lions were favoured as "men" in certain games [3], and small figures of these animals served as amulets in Pre-dynastic as well as in Dynastic times [4]. Lions of bronze acted as door-bolts [5] (Fig. 16) and as standard weights. The head of a lion acted as a gargoyle [6], in which capacity it passed into Europe, where it seemed to spread to every faucet and fountain, even down to the present day. This association

(1) CARTER, "*The Tomb of Tutankhamon*", Vol. II, pp. 59, 89.
(2) *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 117.
(3) PETRIE, "*Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt*", pp. 134, 135.
(4) *Ibid*, Fig. 18.
(5) MASPERO, "*Egypte*", p. 286, Fig. 541.
(6) WRESZINSKI, "*Atlas Zur Altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*" (Leipzig 1914-1935).

of the lion's head, with the emission of water, recalls the Goddess Tefnut, the twin sister of Shu (1)

Tefnut, whose name means "the spitter" was represented as a woman with the head of a lion or lioness, and sometimes completely in leonine form. She was the personification of rain, dew and moisture. Perhaps a lingering tradition of this Goddess, imported into Europe via Greece and Rome, accounts for the lion on every public fountain, and explains what is an otherwise inappropriate form of ornament But according to the classical writer, Horapollo, who lived about the beginning of the Vth century B.C (2) "Lions were a type of the inundation, in consequence of the Nile rising more abundantly when the sun was in Leo. Those who anciently presided over the sacred works made the waterspouts and passages of fountains in the form of lions".

Apart from the Sphinx and the Goddess Tefnut, several of the Egyptian gods possessed leonine characteristics. Nefer-Atum, the third person of the Memphite triad (which consisted of Ptah, Sekhmet and Nefer-Atum) (3), is usually represented as standing upon a lion, while his mother Sekhmet has the

(1) These were the first pair of gods created by Atum According to one legend, Atum created Shu by sneezing him forth, and created Tefnut by spitting In modern Egyptian Arabic, the word "tef" means "to spit".

(2) Horapollo, Book, I. 21

(3) Every important town in ancient Egypt had its triad of gods Usually they were a father, mother and son

head of a lioness. The God Mahes ([1]) appears either as a lion devouring a captive, or as a lion-headed man, while Bes, whose figure forms one of the principal motifs for the decoration of toilet and household articles ([2]) is a dwarfish creature, part man and part lion.

But to return again to all these varied and numerous representations, what do they signify ?

In the earliest times, as we have seen, the lion was the strongest and most imposing animal known to the Egyptians, and as such, it symbolized the king, or as we had better say in the case of a more primitive people, the tribal chief. The Chief or King was the protector of his people; they looked to him to guard them from their enemies, to lead them into battle, to find them fresh hunting-grounds, and to feed them in times of famine. The Chief and the lion were one in their minds; therefore the lion amulet probably came into existence in this manner.

There is, however, no doubt that the innate beauty of its form, and the adaptability of that form to various uses, were factors which contributed to the popularity of the lion symbol. At the same time its

([1]) According to MULLER ("*Egyptian Mythology*", p. 137) Mahes (or Mi-hos) was a son of the Sun-god Ra and Bastet. He was identified with the lion-god, Shu and with Nefer-Atum.

([2]) The God of jollity and amusement. He was also the protector of children and soldiers.

original purpose never seems to have been forgotten, and the leonine guardian was just as popular with the Egyptians of the Ptolemaic Period, as it was in the far-off days before Mena.

Then came the occasion when the Egyptians wished to create an imposing image of their God-King, who after his death was called Hor-akhty ("Horus the Dweller in the Horizon"), the Lord of Heaven. How to represent him? The idea of using the form of the lion probably occurred first, but did not quite meet the need, for the lion had come to be associated in their minds with ferocity as well as kingship, and they wished to represent a wise and powerful, but beneficent deity. It is perhaps in this manner that they evolved the form of the Sphinx, which displays the grace and terrific power of the lion and the superior intellectual power of a man.

So far as I am aware, we have only one example of a sphinx from the Pre-dynastic Period, and this occurs on a slate palette now in the British Museum This creature has the body of a lion, but the head of a hawk or eagle. It is provided with a pair of wings, which spring from the centre of its back, to which they are apparently fastened by means of a crossed cords passing under its belly. It is represented as in the act of springing upon the back of a I.

far as we can tell, it does not seem to have any symbolic meaning attached to it, and we find it occurring in hunting scenes and representations of wild life at different periods throughout all Egyptian history; and it is the ancestor from which sprang a long line of fabulous monsters, the descendants of which survive to this day in heraldry.

As far as we can tell at present, the Great Sphinx of Giza is one of the oldest of the true man-headed sphinxes, and it is certainly the most famous, so let us pause awhile to examine it in greater detail, and see if we can eventually arrive at some idea of its true age.

The Great Sphinx presents the most usual, and from the æsthetical point of view, the most successful type of sphinx. It has a powerful leonine body, unencumbered by wings, a well-set human head, wearing the nemes head-dress, the uraeus and the plaited Osirian beard. In the reliefs, the Sphinx of Giza is nearly always represented as couchant upon a pedestal, the form of which has hitherto caused much speculation on the part of Archæologists. It usually takes the form of a high rectangle surmounted by a cornice; to this is often added the representation of a door. Out of fifty-one stelae bearing representations of the Sphinx, which are known to have



Fig. 13—The Stela of Yuer

come from Giza, thirty-one are shown upon pedestals of the above-mentioned type, and seven bear representations of doors. The remaining nineteen stelae are either damaged, small, crudely carved, or lacking in detail.

On Stela No. 12 from our excavations (Fig. 13), the Sphinx is shown as though lying upon a building surmounted by a cavetto cornice, and provided with a door-way. The stela of an official named Nezem-merit, in the Louvre, goes one step further, and adds a flight of six steps to the base of the pedestal, which also has a door. Describing this stela, M. Moret says (¹) : " On our stela it (the pedestal) is in the form of a naos with a narrow door-way, and approached by a staircase. The stela of Khufu's Daughter (*see* p. 222), which is of a later date, also shows the Sphinx couchant upon a pedestal in the form of a naos, but lacking a door-way and a staircase. What then was the exact form of the pedestal of the Sphinx ?"

This is the same question that Maspero · when he was making his fruitless search for a pedestal of the Sphinx. But now, thanks to the light thrown upon the matter by the clearances effected during our recent excavations, we are able to give

(¹) Moret, "*Revue d'Egyptologie*" (1910), p. 14. Pl. IV.



Fig. 14.—A Stela showing the Sphinx and its Temple

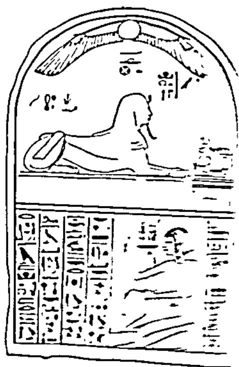


FIG. 14.—A [illegible]

supposed to be deposited inside the temple, are in accordance with the rules of Egyptian art, shown as if resting on the roof of the building !

All the stelae, showing representations of the pedestal of the Great Sphinx, agree in the main points, but vary in degree according to the skill or caprice of the artist, or the amount of space at his disposal.

There is, however, a point that has been somewhat obscure. How did the artists of the New Kingdom know that the Sphinx rested upon a pedestal, and how did they know what this pedestal looked like ? There are two solutions : either they had seen the pedestal for themselves, or they had copied it from some older representation now lost to us. We know from the text of the stela of Thothmes IV that in his time the Sphinx was wholly encumbered with sand, therefore, the temple, which is on a lower level of ground, must also have been completely engulfed. As proof of this we will remind the reader that the foundations of the Temple of Amenhotep II are laid bridgewise over the northern passage of the older temple. Therefore, unless it was cleared at the same time that Thothmes IV effected the clearance of the

Sphinx, which is very unlikely, we can safely say that the pedestal had never been seen by that King or by his artists.

We are then left to assume that the artist copied the representation from some earlier stela which has now vanished.

In the case of Stela No. 9, we may ask the same question. How did the artist know of the existence of the temple lying in front of the Sphinx, for this was already buried under the sand ?

In answer to this we may perhaps say that the monument, which gave the form of the pedestal of the Sphinx, was also inscribed with a record of the existence of the temple. While from the "Inventory Stela" (*see* p. 223), we know that some kind of official records concerning the monument were available for consultation. These also may have contained a description of the pedestal, as well as a reference to the existence of the temple.

erection, and no mention is made of its originator. On his great limestone stela, Amenhotep refers to the "Pyramids of Hor-em-akhet" (*see* p. 185), a name which perhaps shows that he considered the Sphinx to be older than the Pyramids. He refers to the Sphinx under the names of Hor-em-akhet and Hor-akhty.

THOTHMES IV (1420-1411 B.C.)

In the story of his dream, which is inscribed upon the Granite Stela, Thothmes IV sets out what was apparently his opinion of the Sphinx, and identifies it with Kheperi-Ra-Atum, as well as giving the Deity his usual name of Hor-em-akhet. The last legible line of the text, which is, however, much mutilated, reads: "And we shall give praise to Wnnefer . . . Khafra, the statue made for Atum-Hor-em-akhet . . . ".

It is most unfortunate that the text should break off here, for it would appear that Thothmes in some way connected the Sphinx with Khafra. From the theological point of view, he apparently regarded the Sphinx as a type of the Sun-god in all his phases, as is clearly shown by the name Hor-em-akhet-Kheperi-Ra-Atum (*see* p. 195) (1). Nevertheless, it

(1) Hor-em-akhet, is, of course, the personal name of the Sphinx, Kheperi is the Sun-god of the early morning, Ra is the noon-day Sun-god, and Atum is the aged God of the setting sun.

is more than probable that neither Thothmes IV nor the priesthood attached to the Sphinx at that time knew the truth of the origin of the statue

If we can take the text as it stands, and consider the Sphinx as the equivalent of Atum, then we can date it back to the first appearance of that God, whose name appears in the Pyramid Texts, along with those of Kheperi and Ra On this basis, we can consider the Sphinx as one of the oldest of the Egyptian Gods, but unfortunately, we are building our hypothesis upon New Kingdom texts, which were written at a time when the Egyptians had forgotten the original traditions of the God

Seti I (1313 1292 B.C.)

On the stela which he dedicated in the Temple of Amenhotep II Seti makes no mention of the early history of the Sphinx This fact seems to suggest that he could get no reliable information on the subject, and so contented himself by referring to it as the "Place where the people pray".

On the other hand, this stela is somewhat mutilated, and it may be that some unlucky chance has destroyed the very sentence that would have been of importance to us. Seti calls the Sphinx by the names of Hwl and Hor-em-akhet, the usual name for it during the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties

THE INVENTORY STELA (*see* p. 222)

The text of this stela purports to be a copy of an ancient stela existing in the Temple of Isis, beside the Great Pyramid. As we shall see, it is more likely to be a late forgery. In any case, we may take it as expressing the opinion of the people of the period between the Ethiopian and Saitic Periods (about 2,700 years ago), and reflecting their opinions concerning the Sphinx and the Pyramids.

In this text the Sphinx is mentioned under the name of Hwran, a name hitherto unknown before the XXth Dynasty, but which we now know to have had variants in frequent use from the early part of the XVIIIth Dynasty. This fact affords clear proof that the text of the stela cannot possibly be a copy of a document dating from the Old Kingdom, as it pretends to be.

PLINY (1) (23 A.D.)

Pliny, the Roman naturalist says: "In front of the Pyramids is the Sphinx, which is perhaps even more to be admired than they. It impresses one by its stillness and silence, and is the local divinity of the inhabitants of the surrounding district. These people believe that it is the tomb of King Amais, and

(1) Pliny's Works, Book XXXVI. Ch. XVII.

they further state that it was carved in some other place and transported to its present position. But it is, in reality, part of the natural rock, and was carved *in situ*. In order to conform with the cult, it was painted red. The circumference of the head is 200 feet (*sic* !). The length of the body is 143 feet. The height from the belly to the top of the head is 62 feet (¹)."

Pliny was clearly ignorant of the origin of the Sphinx, and so apparently were its worshippers at that time.

From the foregoing accounts, we can see that the general opinion of the ancients was that the Sphinx was older than the Pyramids. It would be interesting to know the source from whence they derived this information. Perhaps it was the natural result of the identification of the Sphinx with the Sun-god. In this way they might easily have supposed it to have been Pre-dynastic, and perhaps dated it to the dynasty of the semi-divine kings known as the "Followers of Horus (²)".

(¹) Actually the measurements of the Sphinx are as follows: height: 66 feet, length: 240 feet, ear: 4 feet 6 inches, nose: 5 feet 7 inches, mouth: 7 feet 7 inches, extreme breadth of face: 13 feet 8 inches; Baedeker, "Egypt" (1929), p. 115.

(²) The Egyptians believed that in the beginning their land was ruled by a dynasty of great gods, of whom Horus the Son of Isis and Osiris was the last. He was succeeded by a dynasty of semi-divine beings, known as the "Followers of Horus", who, in turn, gave place to the historical kings of Egypt.

An inscription in the Temple of Horus at Edfu in Upper Egypt, which dates from the Ptolemaic Period, is the following passage :—

"And Horus of Edfu transformed himself into a lion which had the face of a man, and which was crowned with the Triple Crown (1)".

Curiously enough, the scene accompanying this inscription shows the God represented as a natural lion. This shows how readily the sphinx and lion forms were interchangeable in the minds of the Egyptians.

(1) Budge, "*Legends of the Gods*", pp. 88, 89.

THE OPINIONS OF THE ARAB HISTORIANS CONCERNING THE GREAT SPHINX

The opinions expressed concerning the Sphinx after the Arab conquest in 640 A.D. are few, but not without interest, and show how local tradition lingered on, even after two changes of religion.

Abdel-Latif El-Boghdady (1)

Abdel-Latif El-Boghdady states: "Near to one of the Pyramids is a colossal head emerging from the ground. It is called Abul-Hol. It is said that its body is buried in the ground, and judging by the dimensions of the head, the body should have been 70 cubits in length. The figure is painted red".

El-Makrizi (2)

El-Makrizi says. "In our time (780 A.H.), there was a man whose name was Saim-ed-Dahr, one of the Sufis. This man wanted to remedy some of the religious errors, and he went to the Pyramids and disfigured the face of Abul-Hol, which has remained in that state from that time until now. From the

(1) Abdel-Latif El-Boghdady, "Relation de l'Egypte", [illegible]

(2) El-Makrizi, "Khitat El Makrizi", [illegible]

time of this disfigurement also, the sand has invaded the cultivated land of Giza, and the people attribute this to the disfigurement of Abul-Hol ".

ALI MUBARAK (1)

Ali Mubarak says : " This statue (the Sphinx) is called nowadays Abul-Hol, but used to be known by the name of Balheeb, as mentioned by El-Makrizi ".

AL-KODAI (2)

Al-Kodai says : " The Idol of the two pyramids is called Balhouba. It is a large idol, situated between the two pyramids, and only the head is visible. The mob calls it Abul-Hol and Balheeb, and believe that it is a talisman to prevent the sand of the desert from invading Giza. In a book called '*The Wonders of Building*', it says : 'At the Pyramids is a very huge head and neck protruding from the earth. The people call it Abul-Hol, and think that its body is buried under the ground (3)'".

Later, the traveller Vansleb says : " Its nose (the Sphinx's) has been broken by a Moor, of whom a story is told in beautiful verses of the Arabic language, and

(1) ALI MUBARAK, "*Khittat Masr*", Vol. XVI, p. 44.
(2) EL-KODAI, *ibid*, Part I, p. 197.
(3) There is a book written by a man named Gamal-ed-Din Abu Garfa El-Idrissi, during the VIth century A.D. It is called, "*The Light of the Science of the Heavenly Bodies in the Discovery of the Secrets of the Pyramids*". It is now in Paris (No. 2274 of the Arabic MSS).

which, in order to be brief, I do not mention here, as I do not believe it to be true. This same maniac who mutilated the Sphinx did the same to the lions decorating one of the bridges of Cairo, which were erected by El-Malik-el-Daher Bibars Bondokdari. But according to Abdel-Latif, the lions and the Sphinx were mutilated by Sheik Mohammed, called the 'Faster of the Time'. He did this in the belief that it would be agreeable to God ".

THE OPINIONS OF MODERN EGYPTOLOGISTS CONCERNING THE GREAT SPHINX

Flinders Petrie

In his "History of Egypt" (1), Prof. Petrie says: "Near this temple (the Valley Temple of Khafra) stands the Sphinx; and as there is no evidence as to its age, we may consider it here owing to its position . . . When was this knoll of rock so carved, and by whom ? A later limit is given by the stela of Thothmes IV placed between its paws . . . It must, then, be much older than his time. On the other hand, it has been supposed to be pre-historic, but there is some evidence against that. In the middle of the back is an old tomb shaft; such would certainly not be made when it was venerated and it must belong to some tomb which was made here before the Sphinx was carved. No tombs near this are older than Khufu, nor are any in this part older than Khafra. We may see this on looking at the wide causeway in the rock up to the Second Pyramid. On either hand of that are a crowd of tomb shafts, but not one is cut in the whole width of the causeway. In short, the causeway precedes the tombs in the neighbourhood, but the Sphinx succeeds these tombs".

(1) Petrie, *"History of Egypt"*, p. 68; 1923.

Such is Petrie's opinion; but he is speaking of the causeway before it was fully revealed. It is true that there are no tombs in that part of the causeway which lies beside the Sphinx, and which was the only part of it on view, until I cleared the remainder in 1935-1936. It can now be seen that the part of it lying to the west of the Sphinx, and extending up to the Second Pyramid, has shafts sunk in its upper surface, as well as tomb-chambers cut in its sides

Taking the facts as he knew them, Petrie's argument is sound enough; but, unfortunately, he fell into the error of trying to form a conclusion on a site that had only been partly excavated, a practice that cannot be too strongly condemned.

Maspero

Maspero was at first inclined to relegate the Sphinx to the Pre-dynastic Period. He says (1): "The Great Sphinx Harmakhis has mounted guard over its (the Libyan Plateau) northern extremity ever since the time of the 'Followers of Horus'".

Later, however, he modified his opinion (2) and states that the Sphinx: "Probably represents Khafra himself guarding his temples and pyramid by the magic power possessed by a sphinx".

(1) Maspero, "*The Dawn of Civilization*", p. 247.
(2) Maspero, "*A Manual of Egyptian Archaeology*", p.

Further on in the same book, he says : "Its date has been the subject for endless discussion. Recent discoveries point to it being Khafra himself, a portrait head of the Pharoah, with the body of a lion, guarding his pyramid and temples from all evil by the magic power possessed by a Sphinx (1) ".

Brugsch

Brugsch states that King Khufu had seen the Sphinx, and that, therefore, it must have existed before his time, an opinion which he had evidently based on the text of the famous Inventory Stela (*see* p. 222) (2).

Borchardt

Under the title "*Uber das Alter des Sphinx bei Giseh*", Borchardt has indulged in an astonishing flight of fancy ! He wished to determine the age of the Sphinx by the evidence of the line of paint decorating its eyes, and the fashion of the pleating of its head-dress. According to his contention, these particular features, as seen on the Sphinx, do not occur at any other period save during the XIIth Dynasty, or to be precise, in the reign of Amenemhat III (1949 - 1801 B.C.). He further

(1) Maspero, *ibid*, p. 237.
(2) Brugsch, "*Egypt under the Pharaohs*", p. 37.

recognizes in the features of the Sphinx, a likeness to the known statues of Amenemhat III. Unfortunately for Borchardt, the evidence of the pleating of the nemes head-dress and the stripe of eye-paint is not borne out by statuary in the national collections of Europe, and, therefore, his attribution of the Sphinx to the Middle Kingdom cannot be accepted

Breasted

Breasted is frankly uncertain about the age of the Sphinx. He says (1) : "Whether the Sphinx itself is the work of Khafra is not yet determined. The Great Sphinx, like other Egyptian sphinxes, is the portrait of a Pharaoh, and an obscure reference to Khafra in an inscription between its forepaws shows that in those times he was considered to have had something to do with it".

Budge

Budge says, in the last edition of "*The Mummy*" (2) : "Near this temple (the Valley Temple of Khafra) stands that mysterious monument, the Sphinx . . . which was at once the symbol of the God Hor-em-akhet . . . and of the King, the earthly representative of the God. An inscription, found by *Mariette in the Temple of Isis near the Pyramid of*

(1) Breasted, "*A History of the Ancient Egyptians*", pp. 110, 111
(2) Budge, "*The Mummy*", p. [illegible]

Khufu, says that Khufu built this temple, and some suppose that it was he who had this spur of rock carved into the form of a man-headed lion, and parts of it filled up with masonry to make the contours of the body more perfect. Others take the view that the Sphinx is a Pre-dynastic monument, but this theory has no foundation ".

In my opinion, the Great Sphinx of Giza was erected after the completion of the Khafra Pyramid Complex; the evidence which leads me to this conclusion being a trench which runs down the northern side of the Causeway of the Second Pyramid. This trench, which measures about 2 metres wide and 1·50 metres deep, is cut in the rock, and serves as a division between the Necropolis of Khufu on the north, and that of Khafra on the south. The marking of boundaries by means of trenches may be seen in the case of rock-cut mastabas, where they occur in the upper surface of the rock to define the limits of the tomb.

In the case of the trench we are discussing, it stops abruptly at the western edge of the cavity of the Sphinx (*see* Plan, Fig. 2). Now, in the case of a heavy rainfall, this trench would act as a drain, and discharge all its dirty water into the cavity of the Sphinx.

This seems to be clear proof that the Sphinx was cut after the completion of the causeway, for had it existed before, the trench would never have been continued right to the edge of the cavity, it being unthinkable that the sacred enclosure of the God should become the receptacle for drainage water, even periodically. However, when the Sphinx was cut, this state of affairs became unavoidable; therefore, the architects did their best by plugging the end of the trench with great blocks of granite, and this forms a convincing proof that the Sphinx was a later addition to the Khafra Pyramid Complex, but not necessarily belonging to it

This, then, seems to limit the age of the Sphinx to the latter end of the reign of Khafra at the very most. Moreover, the details of the statue are all in keeping with the style of the Old Kingdom sculpture. Further, as we have already seen, the Sphinx antedates the rock-cut tombs in the walls of the amphitheatre, while the style of its temple is beyond all doubt that of the IVth Dynasty. As the pedestal of the Sphinx actually forms the lower part of the western wall of this temple, I think we cannot but accept this fact as putting the very lowest limit to the age of the Sphinx, as the middle of the IVth Dynasty

Further facts in favour of this theory are as follows :—

(1) That the Great Sphinx is later than Khufu can be seen by the evidence of the trench in the causeway, which makes it practically certain to have been cut after the completion of the causeway.

(2) If we are to regard the Sphinx as the representation of the King-God, then we must look for its originator in the king whose pyramid and temples lie nearest to it, and here again the evidence points to Khafra.

(3) It can hardly belong to Men-kaw-Ra, the builder of the Third Pyramid, for two reasons: First, it is far from his Pyramid Complex, and secondly, he was unable to finish even his own pyramid and temples.

(4) That Khafra was responsible for the erection of the Sphinx seems all the more probable when we study the plans of the Temple of the Sphinx and the Valley Temple of Khafra (*see* Plan, Fig. 2). It seems quite evident that the two buildings are part of one gigantic scheme.

Therefore, taking all these things into consideration, it seems that we must give the credit of having erected this, the world's most wonderful statue, to

Khafra, but always with this reservation, that excepting for the mutilated line on the Granite Stela of Thothmes IV, which proves nothing, there is not one single ancient inscription which connects the Sphinx with Khafra. So sound as it may appear, we must treat this evidence as circumstantial until such a time as a lucky turn of a spade will reveal to the world definite reference to the erection of this statue.

But we may safely take the Great Sphinx of Giza as the best representative of the Old Kingdom type of Sphinx, but it is not the oldest example.

A female sphinx was found by the members of the French Institute while conducting excavations at the Pyramid of Ded-f-Ra at Abu Roash (1) If it is really contemporary with this pyramid, as it seems to be, then it antedates the Great Sphinx by some few years. Moreover, while we were excavating the Mortuary Temple and rock-cut Solar-boats of Khafra, on the eastern side of the Second Pyramid in 1934-1935 (2), I came across the base and forelegs of a limestone sphinx. The paws prove that this sphinx was as large as a full-grown live lion; and that it was a true sphinx, and not a statue of a lion, can be

(1) Ded-f-Ra was a son of Khufu, by a [illegible] wife. He succeeded his father, but there is evidence of a family feud on account of [illegible]. It is perhaps in consequence of this feud that Ded-f-Ra built his pyramid some five miles to the north of the family necropolis, at Abu Roash. He was succeeded by Khafra, who is said to have been the brother of [illegible]

(2) [illegible] Giza, Vol. VI, Part I

seen by the lower part of the chest, which remains upon the pedestal, and shows the lower part of the apron usually worn by sphinxes, falling forward. Had the statue been that of a lion, the chest would have been somewhat undercut.

From its position near the Solar-boats of Khafra, there is no doubt whatever that the Sphinx relates to that King. Holscher has suggested that there were a pair of sphinxes guarding the entrances to the Valley Temple of Khafra (1); perhaps our fragment is part of another pair performing the same office in respect to the Mortuary Temple.

The end of the IVth and the beginning of the Vth Dynasties gives us a new type, that of the standing sphinx. This damaged specimen came to light when I was excavating the Valley Temple of Queen Khent-kawes, the daughter of Men-kaw-Ra, who, ruling in her own right, and assuming the titles of "King of Upper and Lower Egypt", formed the link between the IVth and Vth Dynasties. This Queen was the builder of the Fourth Pyramid at Giza, a monument which, almost totally buried by the sand, had been variously described as an unfinished pyramid and as a natural outcrop of rock. I determined to investigate this monument in our fourth

(1) Holscher, "*Das Grabdenkmal des Konigs Khephren*", Pl. VIII.

season's excavations, and on clearing it, found the inscribed granite portals and false door which gave the name and portrait of the Queen, and filled in another of the gaps in the early history of Egypt (1)

But to return to the sphinx found in this Queen's Valley Temple; the low level in which it was found, and the undisturbed nature of the site, prove that it was contemporary with the temple. Unfortunately the head is missing, and the legs are broken off, but enough remains to show that the sphinx was standing with widely placed feet, seemingly in an attitude of defiance. The body, which is graceful and well-modelled, is free from all ornamentation, and what is most unusual did not have the customary tenon of stone connecting the legs, underside of the body and base.

The Vth Dynasty (2750-2625 B.C.) gives us a new conception of the sphinx, due perhaps to the Heliopolitan Kings, who recognizing the æsthetical possibilities of the sphinx-form, were quick to appropriate it to their own use; and it is perhaps to this period that we can assign the first "mortalizing" of the sphinx.

As this dynasty claimed to be the direct descendants of the Sun-god himself, and the first three kings,

(1) See my "Excavations at Giza" Vol. IV

Wser-ka-f, Sahu-Ra and Nefer-ir-ka-Ra, were the actual physical sons of the God, born of a mortal woman, who was the wife of the High Priest of Ra, there was no thought of impiety in being represented in his image. Therefore, we find Sahu-Ra representing himself as a powerful lion clad in the wings and plumage of a hawk, and trampling his enemies underfoot. This scene is shown in a magnificent relief from Sahu-Ra's temple at Abusir, which from the time of the Vth Dynasty became the new royal necropolis, and it is a great misfortune that the head of the creature is destroyed (1). But there is a later copy of the scene, also discovered by Borchardt, where the head is shown to be that of a hawk. This shows the affinity to the hawk's wings and plumage upon the back, and makes it a more artistic rendering of the monster, which was depicted upon the Predynastic slate palette.

The VIth Dynasty (2625 - 2475 B.C.) gives us an important example in the form of a sphinx of Pepi I, now in the Louvre (Fig. 15). This sphinx is said to have come from Tanis in the northern Delta, but it is not certain if that is its original home, as it has been usurped several times by later kings, including, of course, Rameses II and his son Mer-en-Ptah. On

(1) BORCHARDT, "*Das Grabdenkmal des Konigs Sahure*", Pl. 8.



FIG. 15.—A SPHINX OF PEPI I

the other hand, many relics of the Old Kingdom have come to light at Tanis, some of which are related to Pepi I

It may be wondered why we have so few sphinxes for the Old Kingdom, especially as this was an age so prolific in royal statues, as we may see by the fact that in our excavations alone, we recovered the smashed remains of between three and four hundred statues of Khafra, all executed in fine stone, such as diorite, granite and alabaster. Even in the private tombs of this period, multiple statues were by no means rare, and Ra-wer, the favourite official of King Nefer-ir-ka-Ra, whose tomb came to light in our first season's excavation in the Giza Necropolis, possessed no less than 100 statues, most of which were life-sized (1).

What then has become of the numerous sphinxes, which we are entitled to suppose existed contemporary with, or even a little prior to the Great Sphinx ? It is very unlikely that they are all destroyed, and were they merely hidden, surely over one hundred years of scientific (and also, unscientific !) excavation would have revealed some of them at least But not even broken fragments have appeared other than the specimens we have just mentioned.

(1) [illegible] Vol. I, p. 1 [illegible]

This state of affairs is very suspicious, and perhaps it would be as well to look to the early part of the Middle Kingdom for these missing sphinxes. It may be that some of the best specimens attributed to this period are in reality Old Kingdom work, usurped and altered in detail to meet the prevailing fashion. This is particularly likely to have been the case with good statues existing in quantities at a period known to have been one of internal conflict, unrest and poverty; for in all nations it is at such periods that the standard of art rapidly declines, just as it rises during eras of peace and prosperity. Therefore, any tendency to usurp statuary on a large scale would naturally occur at a time when the kings lacked the means, and skilled artists were insufficient to produce a high standard of contemporary work.

THE VARIOUS TYPES OF SPHINXES OCCURRING AT SUCCESSIVE PERIODS

At the end of the Old Kingdom (2475 B.C.) a social revolution followed on the heels of the breakdown of the royal power and from about this time until 2445 B.C. we have a period of chaos, which is known to the historians as the First Intermediate Period. Naturally, few monumental remains have survived from this time, and it is doubtful if any of the kings of the period possessed either the means or the length of reign necessary to produce even a modest memorial. Therefore, it is not until the Middle Kingdom, that we get any fresh evidence concerning the question of the forms of the sphinx. The Middle Kingdom (2160-1788 B.C.) was one of the great periods of Egyptian history. A line of powerful Kings and a stabilized government soon brought the country to a period of prosperity when art flourished in all its branches. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Middle Kingdom [illegible] types of sphinxes, [illegible] have fortunately been [illegible]

The most strik[illegible] commonly kn[illegible]

[illegible]

account of some of them bearing the name of the Hyksos King, Apopi, or "Tanis" sphinxes, from the locality in which they were found.

These are among the most discussed monuments of the Egyptian civilization, many theories having been brought forward to explain their date and origin.

A peculiarity of these sphinxes is that only the face is human, the head and even the ears being those of a lion, while the usual nemes head-dress is, naturally, replaced here by the lion's mane (Fig. 16).

As long ago as 1892, M. Golénischeff dated these sphinxes to the XIIth Dynasty, probably to the reign of Amenemhat III. On the other hand, M. Capart would prefer to date them to the Archaic Period (1) !

It seems, however, that Golénischeff's attribution of these lion-sphinxes to Amenemhat III is the correct one. The features of the sphinxes are strikingly similar to the known portraits of that King. And here it may be remarked that this grim, austere cast of countenance is a characteristic of this period. The Pharaohs of the XIIth Dynasty were indeed powerful, firmly established monarchs, but their power was hardly won. At home the arrogant Nomarchs (or District Governors) were a constant

(1) CAPART, "*Les Monuments des Hyksos*", p. 25 *ff*.

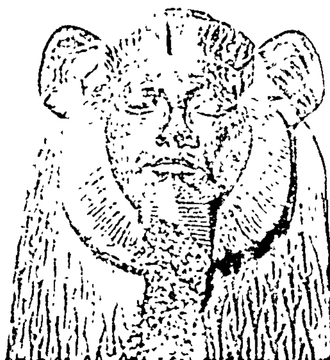


Fig. 16.—A Tanis Sphinx

menace to the royal power, while in Asia, as in Nubia, Egypt had to exert all her power to acquire and hold dominion. The Kings of the period successfully overcame all these difficulties, but at a cost No longer was the Pharaoh a serene God, high above the petty cares of humanity -- The Amenemhats and the Senweserets of the XIIth Dynasty were mortal men who had striven and suffered in order to win the stability and prosperity of their country, but the struggle through which they had passed had left indelible marks on their countenances, which the court sculptors had with inimitable skill, transferred to their portraits.

Amenemhat III may well have appeared like a grim lion, and perhaps these sphinxes served to remind the Nomarchs that, like the lion, Amenemhat could also show his claws should need arise !

The presence of the name of the Hyksos King Apopi, which occurs on some of these sphinxes, is only one of the many usurpations which they have undergone, and the re cutting of the stone can be clearly seen.

A similar type of sphinx to the foregoing, but lacking the grim features that characterize the "Hyksos" sphinxes, also exists. There is a specimen of this type, which is of limestone, and came from

El-Kab, in Upper Egypt. It is now in the Cairo Museum. During the XVIIIth Dynasty this sphinx had been usurped by the great Queen Hatshepsut (1), who from her usual desire to appear as powerful and kingly as possible, no doubt found that the strong leonine characteristics of this sphinx fulfilled all her requirements.

The next type possesses a lion's body clad in a shoulder cape and apron, of a form which seems to develop at this period. It has a human head and a straight beard. This form, of which Fig. 17 is an excellent example, became very popular. This particular specimen is of granite, and was, of course, usurped by Rameses II. The type occurs in various localities, but most of the specimens known have suffered usurpation.

Another new type is the human-headed sphinx with human hands (Fig. 18). This new feature was probably introduced for artistic reasons, as it

(1) Queen Hatshepsut (1501 B.C.) was the daughter of Thothmes I, and was nominated by her father as his heiress. Despite the opposition of her half-brother and nephew and their parties, she ruled as Pharaoh in her own right, and insisted on appearing on the monuments in male attire, even wearing a false beard; and using the masculine pronoun in her inscriptions. She gathered around her a party of able men, of whom her architect, Senenmut, was the Favourite. There is no doubt that her able rule was a beneficial one for Egypt. After her death, her nephew and son-in-law tried to destroy her memory by wrecking or usurping all her monuments.

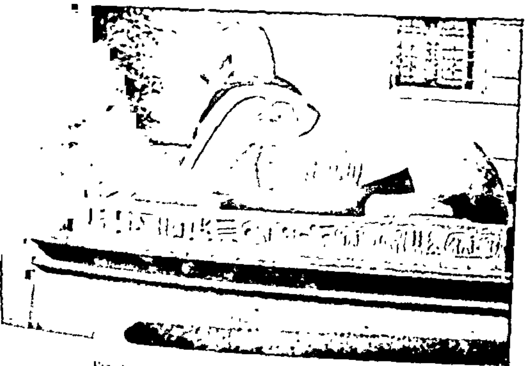


Fig. 17 A [illegible] of the Middle Kingdom



Fig. 18.—A Sphinx with Human Hands



FIG. 19.—A HYKSOS SPHINX

only occurs on those sphinxes which are represented as performing some action with the hands, such as holding a vase, presenting an Image of Truth, or receiving the rays of the sun, as we shall see in a later example. In all these poses the human hand is more graceful in appearance than the round paddy paw of the lion.

A similar type of sphinx to that of Sahu-Ra appears on a gold pectoral. But here the lion's body is undecorated and wingless. It is seated upon its haunches, and from its position opposite to a similarly posed "Set animal", we know that it is a divine sphinx representing Horus.

Fig. 19 shows a small ivory sphinx from Abydos, which dates to the end of the Middle Kingdom. According to Dr. Hall of the British Museum, it represents one of the Hyksos kings, possibly Khian, remorselessly worrying an Egyptian, who struggles in his grasp.

From these examples we see the sphinx developing new types and new styles; moreover, there seems to be a tendency towards the royal rather than the divine nature. With the exception of the Horus sphinx on the gold pectoral, all the foregoing specimens are the portraits of Kings in sphinx form.

The Sphinxes of the New Kingdom

From the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty (1580 B.C.), we see the sphinx rapidly developing new forms, and the already existing types show a tendency to change. For example, the erstwhile thick set, muscular bodies of the earlier sphinxes now show a tendency to become slender and cat-like. The human-handed sphinx now appears with the forelegs completely changed into human arms; while our old friend, the griffon of the Pre-dynastic slate palette, re-appears with the head of a crested eagle. Both these last types of sphinxes appear upon the axe-head of King Ahmes I, the first King of the XVIIIth Dynasty (1580 B.C.).

The middle of the XVIIIth Dynasty ushered in a great revival of the sphinx cult, for reasons dealt with at length elsewhere, and the Great Sphinx of Giza naturally came in for a great deal of attention. It is represented upon the stelae of the period under its old form of a man-headed lion, but has received many new additions to its clothing, for in addition to the nemes and uraeus of the Old Kingdom type, we now see it depicted wearing the tall Atef crown of the gods and king, a wide collar, and hawk's plumage and folded wings. There is always a close connection between the hawk and the sphinx, due to

its identification with the Gods, Horus and Herakhty, whose sacred bird was the hawk.

It is possible that these additional details were actually added to the Great Sphinx; it would be a very easy matter to paint the bodily decorations upon the statue, while the hole which existed in the top of the head may have originally been a socket for the insertion of a crown of wood, stone or metal. In support of this theory we have a line in the text of the Inventory Stela (*see* p. 227), which says that the Sphinx was "all covered with painting".

The Asiatic campaigns of Thutmose III (1501-1447 B.C.) gave an impetus to the fashion of representing the Pharaoh in the form of a victorious sphinx trampling upon its enemies.

Fig. 29 shows such an example [illegible] painted wooden [illegible] of Thutmose [illegible] ram's horns are [illegible] of the sphinx [illegible] identification [illegible] Amen [illegible] sacred animal [illegible] of this form [illegible] which flank [illegible] Khonsu at Karnak [illegible] hotep III (1411 [illegible]

[illegible]

This association of the sphinx with Amon was certainly due to the rise of that God from the position of an ancient but obscure deity, to the head of the Egyptian Pantheon, when he absorbed the functions of the hitherto supreme Heliopolitan Sun-god Ra, and came to be known as Amon-Ra As his name became fused with that of the elder God, so did his sacred animal, the ram, become merged with the solar lion; and thus was produced the ram-headed lion, or those showing the ram's horns.

From the Amarnah Age (1) we have yet another type of sphinx, as shown in the bas-reliefs of Akhenaton. These show the elongated body of a lion, surmounted by a portrait head of the King. In Fig. 20 the human arms are raised to receive the beneficent rays emanating from the Aton disk, that was the symbol of Akhenaton's Monotheistic deity. The exaggeration of the King's features suggest that this relief was made fairly late in his reign, as the morbid traits are not so strongly marked in his earlier portraits. Therefore, the very fact that the King allowed himself to be portrayed as a sphinx at the time, when he was at the height of his religious

(1) So called from Tell-el-Amarnah, the modern site of the ancient capital, Akhetaton, which Akhenaton built in honour of his Monotheistic God, Aton, the Disk of the Sun. The art of this period (1375 - 1350 B.C.) presents many characteristics which differentiate it from that of the older period.

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FIG. 21. [illegible] FROM THE FAYOUM

THE EGYPTIAN FEMALE SPHINX

THE female sphinx is usually associated with the fabulous monster of the Greek legend; nevertheless, the female sphinx existed in Egypt long ages before her Hellenic sister first propounded her fatal riddle. Usually, as we have seen, Egyptian sphinxes are male, and the female forms are in the minority, but none the less, they present interesting variants of three main types. These types are as follows :—

(1) The purely Egyptian type, differing from the male sphinx only in the head, which is beardless and female. Curiously enough, a sphinx of this type seems to be the earliest example we have of the human-headed lion, being the one found by the French Institute at Abu Roash, and may thus be some years older than the Great Sphinx of Giza.

This sphinx is exactly similar to the usual Old Kingdom type of male sphinx, except for the face, which is beardless, possesses distinctly feminine traits, and what is even more convincing, is coloured yellow, the conventional flesh tint for women in ancient Egypt. Men were coloured a reddish-brown.

It has been suggested that this sphinx may represent one of the great Queen-Mothers of the Fourth Dynasty (1). If the King, at this period, is represented under the form of a male sphinx, it is quite logical that the Queen should appear in the form of a female sphinx.

This type appears again in the XVIIIth Dynasty, in a relief in a tomb at Deir-el-Medineh, but here the forelegs of the lion are replaced by human arms, with bracelets on the wrists, the hands holding a vase. M. Bruyere suggests that this sphinx may represent Queen Hatshepsut (2), but all the sphinxes of this Queen, known up till now, are bearded and male.

A sphinx representing a Queen of Thothmes III is shown in a scene in the Tomb of Rekhmara (the famous Vizier of Thothmes III and Amenhotep II), which depicts some royal statues (3). This sphinx wears the vulture crown of the Queens of Egypt over a heavy wig usually worn by the Goddess Hathor, the Patroness of Love and Beauty.

An actual sphinx of this type was found at Minya-wash Shurafa, and is now in the Cairo Museum. It is uninscribed, but the presence of a block of granite

(1) [illegible], "Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte", Vol. XXV, pp. 217, 218.

(2) Bruyere, "Fouilles à Deir el Medineh", Vol. I, pp. 71, 72.

(3) Newberry, "The Life of Rekhmara", Pl. XXII.

certain noble named Kheruef at Thebes (1). On the side of the throne on which the queen is seated is a group representing a rampant female sphinx trampling upon the prostrate forms of a Syrian woman and a negress. This is an adaptation of the well-known motif of the victorious king in the form of a sphinx, trampling upon the enemies of Egypt.

In the present case this sphinx represents Queen Tiy. In fact, all the sphinxes mentioned above seem to represent queens, and are the Egyptian female counterparts of the royal male sphinxes.

(2) A special form, showing Syrian or Canaanitish influence, and which for convenience we will call the "Syrian" sphinx. In addition to its exotic head-dress, this type of sphinx frequently has also the body of a lioness. A striking example of this type is shown in Fig. 22, which is from a coffer in the Abbott Collection. A similar sphinx occurs on an onyx gem which belonged to Amenhotep III. It has been suggested that this markedly foreign looking sphinx might represent the Mitannian wife of Amenhotep III (2).

Female sphinxes of the same exotic type appear on the hem of an embroidered tunic of Tutankhamen, now in the Cairo Museum. These sphinxes also

(1) PAGET, "P.S.B.A.", Vol. XVIII, [illegible] XXXIX.
(2) [illegible], 1911.

appear on representation of vases of gold and silver, brought as tribute to the kings of the XIXth Dynasty by the conquered Syrians.

These "Syrian" sphinxes perhaps represent the Asiatic Goddess Ashtoreth, whose worship was introduced into Egypt during the XVIIIth Dynasty, at the time when Egypt was in close contact with her Asiatic neighbours. One of the cult centres of this Goddess was at Memphis, where she was sometimes called the daughter of Ptah.



Fig. 23.—A Sphinx of the Græco-Roman Period

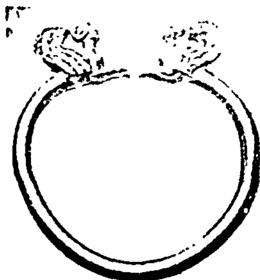


Fig. 24.—Winged Sphinxes on a Gold Bracelet



Fig. 23.—A Terra [illegible]



Fig. [illegible]—A [illegible]

THE SPHINX DURING THE GRÆCO-ROMAN PERIOD

DURING the Græco-Roman Period we find three distinct types of sphinxes existing in Egypt. First there is the purely Egyptian type, unchanged in its principal form since the time of the Old Kingdom, such as we see in Fig. 23. Then there is the purely Greek type, which we will discuss more fully elsewhere. This type is female, and usually winged. Excellent specimens of the Greek sphinx in Egypt are shown in Fig. 24, where these sphinxes form the terminals of a gold bracelet, and Fig. 25 which is from a terra cotta figure in the Alexandria Museum.

Between these two types comes a third which is hybrid and possesses some of the characteristics of both Egyptian and Greek arts. Fig. 26 illustrates such a hybrid sphinx. The head-dress is purely Egyptian but the modelling of the face, and the crossed forepaws are Greek. Compare this last feature with the late votive lion, found by the great limestone stela of Amenhotep [illegible] excavations (Fig. 4).

The Roman Period

From the Roman Period comes a series of interesting, but by no means artistic, sphinxes, which from the similarity of their forms to those shown on the coins of Trajan and Hadrian, suggests that they must be contemporary with, or a little prior to, the latter (117 - 138 A.D.).

Fig. 27 shows one of these composite sphinxes from a bas-relief in the Cairo Museum. It represents a sphinx with a female human head upon a male lion's body. The back is clothed with hawk's plumage, and from its centre spring a pair of wings, apparently attached to the body by means of crossed chains passing under the belly. From the rump springs a hawk's head crowned with a solar disk and ram's horns, while the tail of the sphinx ends in a cobra. Protruding from the chest of the creature, and occupying the place of a female breast, is the head of a crocodile. The human head of the sphinx is framed by a mass of curly hair, over which is the nemes head-dress surmounted by the disk and horns of the Goddess Isis. Beneath the feet of the sphinx is a long cobra which uprears its head in front, while smaller serpents are twisted round the legs above the paws.



Fig. 27.—A Composite Sphinx

Other examples of a similar kind are to be seen in the Cairo Museum, while in the collection of the College of the Holy Family, in Cairo, is a specimen from Luxor, where the heads of eight animals surround the human head of the sphinx like an aureole. These animal heads are a bull (Apis), a crocodile (Sebek), a hawk (Horus), a ram (Amon), an ape (Hapi, the son of Horus), a jackal (Anubis), an ibis (Thoth) and a lion (Sekhmet, Tefunt, Pakht or Mahes).

What, then, do these nightmare creations represent? The female face, the male lion's body with the head of a crocodile taking the place of a human breast, seem to suggest a creature at once male and female; a generator, a producer and a nourisher. Are we to interpret these sphinxes as representing Egypt, the producer and sustainer of life? Egypt, from whose breast issues the life-giving Nile, symbolized by the crocodile, who tramples the unfertile desert, the serpent, under her feet? The animal heads seem clearly to represent her most popular gods.

THE APPEARANCE OF THE SPHINX IN ASIA

Up till now we have limited our discussion to the sphinx in Egypt only; but it is now time to ask if Egypt was the original home of the sphinx, or if she had borrowed it from some other country. It is a very curious coincidence that we find those countries which are near neighbours of Egypt having sphinxes, which if not actually identical with those of Egypt, at least resemble them very closely. In my opinion, it is more than probable that Egypt is the original home of the sphinx, and that it was copied from here by the Asiatics and Greeks by turn, each of whom made some alteration to its form or nature, in order to conform to their own mentality and artistic taste.

Evidence for this theory lies in the fact that in the various types of sphinxes that occur both in Egypt and Asia, it seems that in each case the Egyptian example is the older, as the following instances will show.

The first appearance of the composite monster in Asia was the griffon, the lion with the head and wings of a bird of prey. Such a creature appears upon a cylinder-seal from Susa (Elam), which is



FIG. 28.—AN IVORY SPHINX FROM NIMROUD



FIG. 29.—RAM HEADED ASIATIC SPHINXES

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Fig. 28.—An Ivory Sphinx from Nimroud



Fig. 29.—Ram-Headed Asiatic Sphinxes

dated 3000 B.C. (1). This would make it coincide with the IInd or IIIrd Egyptian Dynasty, and thus it is considerably younger than the griffon of the Pre-dynastic slate palette. Further, the workmanship of the Susa seal is very crude, and in no way compares with the Egyptian example.

A carved ivory sphinx from Nimroud (Assyria), now in the British Museum, definitely shows its Egyptian origin (Fig. 28). Its date coincides with the XXIst Egyptian Dynasty, and as we have already seen, winged female sphinxes had appeared in Egypt during the XVIIIth Dynasty. This last example is by no means an isolated specimen, but is typical of many others of the same type and class.

Fig. 29 shows a group of two sphinxes facing each other before a conventional tree. These are similar to the sphinxes on the Fayoum cup (see p. 105) but here they have the head of the ram of Amon (2). This group dates to the equivalent of the XXIIIrd Egyptian Dynasty, and again the Egyptian example is the earlier. In Asia, as in Egypt, there is sometimes a retrogression to the purely lion form. From Babel (Babylon) comes a fine group in black basalt, which depicts a victorious lion trampling upon its

(1) CONTENAU, "*Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale*", p. 265.
(2) THUREAU and DANGIN, "*Arslan Tash*" (1931), Pl. XXVII.

prostrate enemy. It is contemporary with the Saitic Period in Egypt (663-525 B.C.) [1].

Thus it will be seen, that in each case of a parallel type it is always the Egyptian example that is the earlier, and that, therefore, Egypt must be the birthplace of the sphinx.

By nature the Asiatic sphinx seems to resemble the Egyptian type, and fulfils much the same role, appearing as a guardian of door-ways, and in similar situations. In Egypt, sphinxes have guarded the entrances to temples since the time of the Old Kingdom (*see* p. 92).

(1) PARIBENI, "*Architettura dell Oriente Antico*", p. 273.

THE SPHINX IN MYCENÆ AND GREECE

It would seem that the sphinx, having become established in Asia, passed via Asia Minor and Mycenæ into Greece, where it rapidly developed a special type, but without entirely losing the traits which betray its Egyptian origin.

The Greek sphinx is always female, and it may seem strange that the Greeks should pick upon this type, which was always in the minority, and by no means typical of the sphinx in general. But we have to allow for the inherent love of physical beauty so strongly developed in the ancient Greeks. [illegible] of the sphinx appealed to their [illegible] imaginative natures, while the [illegible] beauty of woman and the [illegible] commended itself to their artistic [illegible]

From the pictorial point of view, there seems to be but little resemblance between the sphinxes of Egypt and Greece. Even the Egyptian female sphinxes of the XVIIIth Dynasty do not [illegible] Hellenic type, while at [illegible] similarity of nature. [illegible] tion, it will be discovered [illegible]

Greek sphinx, do not in reality affect the inherent nature of the creature, while its solar affinity remained unaltered, as we shall see later.

The most notable example of the Greek sphinx, and the one most frequently portrayed, is the monster which plays such a significant part in the legend of Œdipus, therefore, let us briefly outline the story here. There are several versions of this tragedy known, but the most popular one runs as follows :—

"Laius, the first King of Thebes (Greece) and Iocaste, his wife, were childless, and on questioning the oracle on this matter, were informed that if a son should be born to them he would live to be his father's murderer. Accordingly, when at last Iocaste gave birth to a boy, his parents pierced his feet and exposed him on Mount Citharon, to be the prey of wild beasts.

"However, the child was found by a shepherd of King Polybus of Corinth, and his wife, Merope, took pity on the child and adopted him. The King and Queen of Corinth brought the child up as their own son, and named him Œdipus, on account of his swollen feet when found.

"Later in his life, he was taunted by one of the Corinthians with not being the King's real son. Therefore, he had recourse to the oracle to determine

Thebes, and the hand of Queen Iocaste in marriage, to anyone who would rid them of the monster. But none had lived to claim the reward.

"When Œdipus chanced to pass this way, the Sphinx seized upon him, and propounded the riddle, as follows: 'What is it that goes on four legs in the morning, on two legs at noon, and on three legs in the evening; and is weakest when its legs are most?'.

"After some consideration, Œdipus answered: 'Man! In the morning of his life, he crawls upon all fours, in his noontide, he walks erect upon his two legs; while in the evening of his life, as an old man, he uses a staff, which is a third leg; and in his infancy and in his old age, he is weakest'.

"This was the correct answer, and the Sphinx, in a fit of rage, leapt down from the precipice, and was dashed to pieces.

"Œdipus returned to the city, where he was welcomed as king, and straightway married to Iocaste, both parties being unaware of the relationship existing between them. Thus, the second part of the prophecy was fulfilled!

"Some years later, after Iocaste had born children to Œdipus, the truth of their relationship was

revealed by the oracle, and in shame and remorse, Iocaste committed suicide, while Œdipus put out his own eyes."

There are several elements in this legend which are distinctly Egyptian in origin. First, there is the strong solar affinity as displayed in the famous riddle itself, which the Sphinx was said to have learned from the Muses, who were the attendants of the Sun-god. In it we can recognize a clear reference to the Egyptian idea which represented the early morning sun as an infant, rising from the open lotus-flower. Man in his prime, is Ra, the sun in its noontide strength ; while the old man with his staff, is Atum, the aged God of the setting sun tottering feebly towards the West.

It would seem as though the Greeks themselves recognized the solar elements contained in the riddle, which, in version of Arachleba, reduces the periods of human life to the three periods of the day.

Then, there is the tradition which describes the sphinx as having come from Ethiopia; which clearly shows that the Greeks assigned to it an African origin, and laid no claim to having been its originator.

A further factor in favour of the Egyptian origin of the Greek sphinx is its nature, and at first

glance, this seems to be a paradox; for the Greek monster is a malicious demon, while the Egyptian sphinx is a guardian. But the Egyptian sphinx is kindly disposed only towards its chosen people. How numerous are the representations of it trampling upon the foreign enemies of Egypt, and the very fact that it appears as a guardian of the temples and tombs, betokens a ferocious nature. It was, therefore, natural that foreigners, ignorant of the true meaning of this allegory, seeing only the wretched plight of the victims represented under the claws of the sphinx, should conceive of it as a ravishing monster, descending upon their territory, and exacting a daily toll of living victims.

Moreover, it would seem that the Greek artists and sculptors, even one of such renown as Phidias, were deeply influenced by Egyptian art forms when representing the sphinx.

When choosing a motif for the decoration of the sides of the throne of Zeus, Phidias seems to have been consciously influenced by the decoration commonly found on the sides of the thrones of the Pharaohs, for example, that of Amenhotep III (Fig. 30 *A*), to say nothing of the many other groups representing the victorious sphinx, trampling and mauling its enemies.



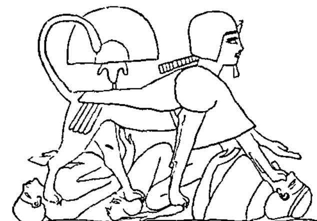


FIG. 30A.—A SPHINX FROM THE THRONE OF AMENHOTEP III

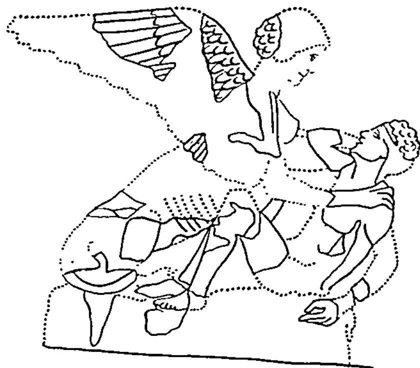


Fig 30B.—The Sphinx of Phidias

Fragments of the groups by Phidias are preserved in the Vienna Museum, and their affinity of design to the Egyptian originals, as well as the similarity *of the place which they were to adorn*, is very marked (Fig. 30 *B*) (1).

The Greek sphinx maintains its baleful characteristics on almost all occasions, and this particularly seems to connect it with death, hence, we find it figuring as a decoration upon sarcophagi.

According to Weiker and Furtwanglern, the sphinx is a demon of enrapturing death. This would connect it with such creatures as sirens, harpies, etc.

According to Jebb (2), the sphinx was the symbol of demonic might, both physical and mental, and states that in Greek art, the sphinxes represented upon sepulchral monuments are often the emblems of the unconquerable and inscrutable might which lays men low. But after all, it seems more than likely that these funerary sphinxes are a perverted echo of the Egyptian tradition, which makes the sphinx the vigilant guardian of the tomb (*see* p. 134).

But there is one very great departure from Egyptian Tradition; the Greek sphinx is conquered and humbled by Œdipus, but the Egyptian sphinx

(1) Eichler, "*Thebanische Sphinx*", Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archaeologischen Instituts in Wien, Vol XXX, pp. [illegible]-110.

(2) Sophocles, Œdipus Tyrannus.

is never tamed or vanquished. Is this due to the foreigners' subconscious wish to humble the pride of the conquering sphinx, or is that the female monster, partaking of the essence of womanhood, must, by the Law of Nature, submit to man ?

The Sphinx in Greek Art

For the origin of the outward form of the Greek sphinx, we must look to Mycenæ and the Aegean Isles.

The presence of the composite monster occurs very early in Mycenæan art, the eagle-headed lion appearing in a fresco in the First Palace of Minos, at about 2000 B.C., or contemporary with the XIIth Egyptian Dynasty.

At about the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty, Egypt came into close contact with Cyprus, and much commercial intercourse took place, which did not fail to have an effect on the art of the two countries, although Egypt still appears to have lent more than she borrowed. An excellent example of the Egyptian influence on Cyprian art may be seen in the metal-work of the period, where well-known Egyptian motifs are employed, often without showing a trace of foreign work.

But with the progress of time, the Egyptian elements dwindle, and the artists seem to borrow their inspiration from the Asiatic sphinxes. The small winged sphinxes on the sarcophagus of Amathonte have little in common with those of Egypt, except the underlying idea which associates them with the protection of the dead (¹).

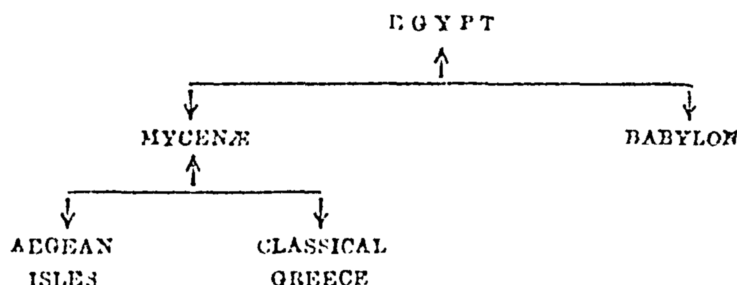
A beautiful example, dated about 560 B.C., and thus contemporary with the XXVIth Egyptian Dynasty, is seen in Fig. 30 *B*. It is a true Greek sphinx, but the Egyptian element still lingers on in the treatment of the wings and the covering of the breast.

One of the most graceful and pleasing of the foreign sphinxes may be seen in the group, which adorns the end of a sarcophagus from Sidon. It is contemporary with the XXIXth Egyptian Dynasty (about 500 B.C.). The Egyptian influence is here lacking altogether, except perhaps in the underlying idea of the sphinx *acting as the guardian of the dead.* This last type was the one most frequently used by the Greeks in the Classical Period, and we find it in many and varied situations.

From the foregoing pages we can see that the Greek Sphinx despite its apparent physical and mental

(¹) PICARD, "*La Sculpture Antique*", Vol. I, p. 217

differences, is, nevertheless, derived from the Sphinx of Egypt, and its pedigree should be given thus :—



It is curious to note that with the growth of Hellenic culture in Egypt under the Ptolemies, the Greek sphinx was re-introduced into its original home under a new guise, and surrounded by a new crop of legends.

this temple at least had been adorned in the same manner as the well-known Mortuary Temples of the Vth Dynasty at Abusir. The same is true of the Mortuary Chapel of the Pyramid of Queen Khent-kawes, at the end of the IVth Dynasty (1).

The total destruction of all but the core masonry of the other Mortuary Temples of the Giza Pyramids, particularly that of the Second Pyramid, has perhaps deprived us of the very evidence which we are seeking concerning the Sphinx.

Furthermore, those gods who are mentioned in the private tombs of the Old Kingdom are only those of a definitely funerary character, such as Anubis, Seker and Osiris, and even the latter is rarely mentioned before the end of the Vth Dynasty.

It is not until the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty that we have definite evidence that the Sphinx was regarded as a god of the dead, and even then, it is only through his association with other gods of a funerary character. Certainly the name of the sphinx does not appear in the offering formulæ before this period.

The walls of the underground chambers of the Pyramid of Wnas (Vth Dynasty, about 2625 B.C.), Pepi I, Merenra and Pepi II (VIth Dynasty, about

(1) *See my "Excavations at Giza"*, Vol IV.

2625-2475 B.C.), and of the Queens of the latter, are entirely covered with inscriptions of a religio-magical character, some of which go back to extreme antiquity, and which are known to-day as the "Pyramid Texts". They form what is up till now the oldest religious work that has survived in a written form from the Past, and are of immense value for the study of theology.

In these Pyramid Texts we get the first mention of the Sphinx, where it appears under the name of Rwty ([1]), and is associated with Atum. In line 2032, it is said of the King: "He is taken to Rwty, and presented to Atum".

The association of the Sphinx with Atum was continued into the New Kingdom, and in the so-called "*Book of the Dead*", a magico-religious work of this period, it says (*Ch.* 3, line 1): "O Atum, who appears as Master of the Lake, who shines as Rwty, who maketh thine orders to be heard by those who are before thee".

There is also the line on the Granite Stela of Thothmes IV in which the Sphinx is made to say: "I am thy Father, Hor-em-akhet-Kheperi-Ra-Atum (the sun in all its phases)".

([1]) Rwty was a god in the form of a lion. Sometimes his name is written with two lion signs, and he is called the Double Lion God. Perhaps the dual form of the name originated in the fact that sphinxes are always found in pairs when guarding temple door-ways, and the function of Rwty is also that of a guardian

During the Middle Kingdom, the name "seshep-ankh" = the "living statue", seems to have been a general name for sphinxes. This can be proved by the determinative of the word, which is usually a representation of a sphinx. Furthermore, in the "Story of Sinuhe", a biographical tale of the early XIIth Dynasty (1), the word "seshep-ankh" is used to designate the pair of sphinxes guarding the portals of the Royal Palace of Senwesert I. Sinuhe, the hero, says: "I pressed my forehead to the ground between the sphinxes (seshep-ankh), the royal children standing in the gateway against my coming (2)".

It is very possible that this word "seshep-ankh" was corrupted by the Greeks into their word "sphinx", which is supposed to mean "strangler" in reference to the savage sphinx in the legend of Œdipus.

But it would seem that the names Rwty and seshep-ankh could be applied to sphinxes as a general type, but were not necessarily the name on any one particular specimen. What, then, was the name of the Great Sphinx of Giza?

It is surprising to know that it is not until the XVIIIth Dynasty that we find any written reference

(1) About 2000 B.C.

(2) GARDINER, "*Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*", p. 174 (250).

to the Great Sphinx by a personal name reserved exclusively to itself. By a lucky chance, a small fragment of an inscribed stone naos has survived from the wreck of the Past, and gives the name of the Great Sphinx as Hor-em-akhet, the Harmakhis of the Greeks. This piece is dated to the first year of the reign of Thothmes I (the third King of the XVIIIth Dynasty) and is the first direct reference to the Great Sphinx which we have (*see* p. 171). But it must be remembered that at the time when this inscription was made, the Sphinx was already regarded as an antiquity, and it is more than possible that much of its original significance had been forgotten, even by the Egyptians themselves.

Before giving any examples of the use of this name, let us first examine its meaning and origin. Hor-em-akhet really means " Horus in the Horizon ", the word ' akhet ' originally meaning ' horizon ', but as early as the IVth Dynasty, this word had become to be used as a synonym for the tomb, as we know from the ancient name of the Great Pyramid, " Akhet-Khufu " (*see* p. 4). This seems to be due to the fact that the Horizon was the dwelling-place of the heavenly god, especially Horus, in his connection with the solar cult, and his identification with Ra.

He had an eastern horizon from which he arose in the morning, and a western one in which he set in the evening. Therefore, the name Hor-em-akhet can mean simply "Horus in the Horizon", as we have already seen, and which is an apt designation for a sun-god, or it can have a deeper significance of "Horus in the Necropolis", which exactly describes the Great Sphinx of Giza, because it is in the necropolis of the western desert that the statue is resting, and the western desert is the western horizon of the Sun-god. The Sphinx rests here in the same manner as the dead kings and their people, and thus, the original connection of the Sphinx and the Necropolis of Giza is maintained in its later name.

Also we must remember that the Sphinx lies in a depression between two hills, which is the exact form of the hieroglyph [hieroglyph] meaning "akhet" = "Horizon", the great head of the statue appearing like the disk in the hieroglyph. It is interesting to note that many amulets in the form of this hieroglyph were found in the neighbourhood of the Sphinx. A variant of this type of amulet is seen in Fig. 31 which represents the double lion-god, Aker (1) with the disk between his two heads, the whole still preserving the outline of the "horizon".

(1) The deified personification of that part of the Underworld through which the Sun-god passed during the hours of the night. *See* my "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. VI, Part I, p. 275 *ff*.



A FORM OF HEIROGLYPH MEANING *akhet* = "HORIZON"; SEE P. 132

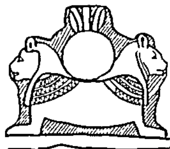


FIG. 31.—AN AMULETIC FIGURE OF AKER

would enter. I overthrow thy foes with their weapons, I drive away the wicked from thy tomb, I annihilate thy opponents. . . so that they return no more (1) ".

Here, there is no doubt at all of the function of the Sphinx as the guardian of the tomb.

On the stela of the unfortunate Prince Amen-em-Apt (see p. 189) which was found in our excavations, the Sphinx, under the name of Hor-em-akhet, takes the place of Anubis, the old funerary god, in the offering formula, and is invoked as the God, from whom the dead might expect to be supplied with offerings of food and drink in the Other World.

But we now come to a curious point. We have already seen that the name Hor-em-akhet first appears, so far as we know at present, on a fragment of a naos, dating from the first year of the reign of Thothmes I, in the early part of the XVIIIth Dynasty, but in common with the names of other popular gods, the name of Hor-em-akhet was used as a personal name by the devout, especially by the people of Memphis. The earliest example we have of it appearing in this capacity, is during the reign of Amenhotep I, the father of Thothmes I (1557 B.C.) when it occurs on a stela, now in the Louvre, and

(1) "Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache" (1880), p. 50.

which is inscribed : " Hor-em-akhet, the brother and Scribe of the King's Relative, Atef-nefert (1)".

The fact that the name had already become sufficiently popular to be adopted by such ultra-conservative people as the ancient Egyptians to use as a personal name, is proof that it must have been long familiar to their ears, and we may surmise that it was known at least as early as the XVIIth Dynasty, and very probably long before that.

A king bearing the name of Hor-em-akhet appears to have ruled for a while in the Ptolemaic Period, in the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes (203-181 B.C.). In an article on this king, M. Revillout says (2) : " A scarab bearing the legend, 'Hor-em-akhet, Lord of Memphis' must refer to the Ethiopian king who ruled over Thebes at the beginning of the reign of Epiphanes. The fact that he is also called 'Lord of Memphis' suggests that he ruled all Egypt ".

We have no exact evidence as to the career of this mysterious king, except the fact that he actually existed. Perhaps he was the descendant of Nekht-neb-f, the last Egyptian Pharaoh, who fled to Ethiopia when Ochus the Persian won the victory which made him master of Egypt in about 342 B.C.;

(1) PERRIN, "*Recueil de Travaux*", Vol II, p 48
(2) "*Rev. Egypt*", Vol X, p 66

and he may have revolted against the Ptolemies, and even have succeeded in holding the country for a while.

Lovers of romance will perhaps be interested to know that it was on the supposed career of this king Hor-em-akhet, or as the Greeks called him, Harmakhis, that the late Sir Rider Haggard based his celebrated novel "Cleopatra".

But the paths of the novelist and the historian diverge somewhat, and much as we should like to, I am afraid that we cannot accept all of Haggard's very fascinating theories as to the data for this King's reign.

But to return to the name Hor-em-akhet in its proper use, that is as the personal name of the Great Sphinx of Giza, we have from our excavations alone, nine stelae where this name appears alone as a designation of the Great Sphinx.

Of these, six bear representations of the couchant sphinx, while another specimen bears only the name alone and the representation of two human ears in relief (*see* p. 43 *ff*. for similar "ear-tablets"). Of these stelae the following are the most interesting :—

Stela No. 20 (1) (Fig. 32) shows on its upper register the Sphinx wearing a head-dress consisting of two tall

(1) These numbers refer to the corpus of the stelae I found around the Sphinx and will be published soon.

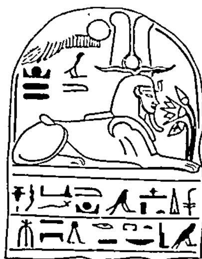


Fig. 32.—The Stela of Inhermes

appears to be a short roll of papyrus; perhaps it is the original of the decree engraved upon the lower part of the stela.

The name Hor-em-akhet also appears upon the four limestone door-ways of the Temple of Amenhotep II.

Stela No. 78 shows clear evidence of the influence of the College of Heliopolis, the chief centre of the cult of Ra, the Sun-god, one of whose emblems was the sphinx. The representation is of the usual couchant sphinx, but above its back is a large solar disk, and the name is given as Ra-Hor-em-akhet.

On Stela No. 15 the God is represented in the form of a hawk, and on Stela No. 64 in the dual representation of a sphinx and of a hawk-headed man. In both these examples, the name is given as Hor-em-akhet.

On Stelae Nos. 37 and 39 we have the full name and title of the Great Sphinx: "Hor-em-akhet, Presiding Over the 'Setepet' (the Select Place)".

Side by side with the name Hor-em-akhet, we find the Great Sphinx also called Hor-akhty, a name which means "Horus the Dweller in the Horizon".

During the New Kingdom, Hor-akhty could be represented under several forms. He could appear as a sphinx, either human or hawk-headed, as a

hawk-headed man, or as a hawk, his original form Many representations of him occur on the stelae in our excavations, showing him in all these forms. It will be seen that in each case the hawk-like nature of the God is more or less prominently displayed, and this is the clue which leads us to the heart of the mystery.

In the dawn of Egyptian history, the hawk was the symbol of the great god of the Western Delta Kingdom, whose two eyes were the sun and the moon. When the rule of the Delta Kings expanded and they made Heliopolis their capital, the priests of that city, who had hitherto worshipped Ra, the Sun-god, mingled the two faiths together for political purposes, and represented the god in the form of a hawk-headed man, crowned with the solar disk, and they called him either Ra-Horus or Hor-akhty.

In the beliefs of the Egyptians the King was the earthly representation of this God, and we have proof that in the very early period the dead King especially was called Hor-akhty(1). When Khafra cut the Great Sphinx, it was made in his likeness, that is to say in the likeness of Hor-akhty, with whom he was identified. Later, towards the end of the Second

(1) For the identification of the dead king with Hor-akhty, see my "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. VI, Part I, p 4

Intermediate Period (about 1580 B.C.) this appellation of the king was apparently dropped, and the Great Sphinx passed from being the dual likeness of the king and the god, and both its image and the name Hor-akhty came to represent the god alone.

From our excavations we have several stelae giving the name Hor-akhty as a designation of the Sphinx, and this name also occurs on the limestone door-posts which Seti I added to the Temple of Amenhotep II (1).

Now let us consider some of the other names of the Sphinx, one of which has survived in a corrupt form to the present day.

In Arabic the Sphinx is called Abul-Hol, which is wrongly believed to mean "Father of Terror". In reality, the name is a very ancient one, and is linked up with a romantic history. Let us then trace it to its very source.

In the winter of 1933-1934, M. Montet was excavating at Tanis, the modern San-el-Hagar, about 100 kilometres from the frontiers, when he discovered a large group of statuary representing Rameses II as a child, crowned with the solar disk, holding a reed in his hand, and sheltering beneath the breast of a large hawk. By an ingenious device of the sculptor,

(1) Recent researches show that Horon was known during the Middle Kingdom. see POSENER. "*Princes et pays d'Asie et la Nubie . . .*" (Brussels, 1940).

this granite group spells the Egyptian form of the name of Rameses. The solar disk ☉ is "Ra", the child is "mes" and the reed is "su" = "Ramessu". But apart from its artistic and other merits, this group has proved to be of great importance, for on the side of the base is an inscription reading: "The Son of Ra, Rameses, beloved of Amon, beloved of Hwron".

Hwron is the great hawk protecting the King, but who is this God and what are his functions? This is a question which has long awaited a satisfactory answer, and I believe that in the light of recent discoveries, we are now in a position to clear up the mystery.

Before the discovery of the Tanis group, the name Hwron was only known from two Egyptian sources, the Harris Magical Papyrus, where it occurs four times in a spell for rendering wolves harmless, and on the "Inventory Stela", where, however, it seems to have passed unnoticed. But it was known from the Greek inscriptions, and many articles have been written concerning this god, some of which are very near to the truth.

Montet at first suggested that perhaps Hwron was only another form of Horus (1), but that is unlikely, as at the time when the Tanis group was

(1) MONTET, "*Revue Biblique*" (1935)

sculptured, the cult of Horus as the divine hawk was not sufficiently prominent as to warrant Rameses II being represented as under his protection. But we have evidence of a God called Hwrna whose cult had been known in Egypt since the XVIIIth Dynasty, and which may have been imported from Asia during the reign of Thothmes III, at a time when Egypt was keeping open house to any foreign ideas and fashions, particularly those of Syria and Phœnecia. In this respect, it is significant that the fragment of a sphinx from Tell-el-Maskhouta in the Delta, should be inscribed: "Hwrna of the Lebanon (1)". It is during this period also that the other foreign gods, Anat, Ashtoreth, Reshep, Qadesh, etc., made their appearances in the Land of the Nile.

By the time of the reign of Rameses III (about 1198-1167 B.C.), the God Hwren had become associated with Horus, and the partnership of the two deities seemed to be much in demand by the magicians, for we find their coupled names appearing in the Harris Magical Papyrus, where the first mention is in a spell for disabling a wolf. It reads: "Hwron, make thy fangs impotent, thy foreleg is cut off by Horus the Son of Isis, after Anat hath cut thee down (2)."

(1) Leibovitch, "*A.S.*", Vol. XLIV, p. 171.
(2) Anat was a Syrian warrior Goddess, who fells the wolf in this spell, just as she overthrows the demon Mot in the Ugaritic legend of Baal and Mot.

Further on in the same papyrus we read : " Thou art the Valiant Shepherd, Hwron ". And in another spell for protection against wild beasts : " O Hwron, drive the beasts from the harvest field, O Horus, let none enter ".

Here we must remind the reader of the tradition which credits the Sphinx with the protection of the cultivated lands, as hinted at in the " Inventory Stela " and clearly stated in the Græco-Roman inscriptions, and by the Arab writers.

Nor is this the only connection between the Sphinx and the God Hwron, as we shall see. Concerning the identification of the God Horus with Hwron, we have a stela from our excavations which seems to throw some light upon the matter, for it refers to the Sphinx under the name of Horus, and was, moreover, dedicated by a man of seemingly foreign extraction. It is an important document, as it seems to form a connecting link between the gods Horus and Hwron, through the medium of the Sphinx. Nearly all the surface of this stela is occupied by a representation of the donor of the stela offering incense before the Sphinx, which crowned with the Double Diadem, lies upon a high pedestal with a door in its side. Above this scene is inscribed : " A boon which the King gives, and Horus, the Great God, the Lord of Heaven, the Ruler of Thebes ".

The greatest point of interest in this little tablet is that here the Sphinx is definitely identified with Horus, and is unqualified by any other name.

After studying all the material available to him at the time, Montet finally came to the conclusion that Horus and Hwron were in reality two distinct gods, though similar to each other in form. But it remained for M. Virolleaud (1) to add the point that tipped the scale in favour of Montet's contention. This is a passage from the " Poem of Ras Shamra ". In the legend of Keret, King of Sidon, it is said that this Monarch was once seriously ill with a malady of the nose and throat; but when he began to recover, and his appetite returned, he begged his wife to prepare him a good meal.

" Kill a lamb, and I will eat of it," he cried. His wife prepared the feast, and King Keret ate continuously for three days; after which he retired to the interior of the Palace to take some rest.

The son of King Keret was led astray by some demon of revolt and rushing to the Palace, he entered unannounced into the presence of his father, and began reproaching him in very severe terms, accusing him of not fulfilling his duty to the state.

(1) VIROLLEAUD, "*Revue et Etude Semitiques*" (1937), p. 36.

"Give justice !" cried the youth, "to the widow and orphan ! Drive away the robbers who extort the poor people ! Give food to the hungry ! If you will not do these things, then abdicate the throne, and I will sit in your place !"

But King Keret, who had regained his force, stood up to drive away his son, and he cursed the youth, saying : "Hwron will break your head, and Ashtoreth will break your skull !" (1). This seems to show that Hwron was the especial protector of the king, quick to take revenge upon rebels and traitors. And this is exactly the function which we find him fulfilling for Rameses II in the Tanis group

A Greek inscription found at Delos, and published by Plassart (2), mentions Hwron as being the god of the town of Yammnia, in Palestine. In the above-mentioned "Poem of Ras Shamra", which was written twelve hundred years before the Greek inscription, Hwron is again connected with the town of Yammnia. This town is actually situated to the west of Jerusalem, not far from the sea, and near to a district called to this day Bet Harun, a

(1) It would appear as though Ashtoreth were the female companion of Hwron, just as her Egyptian counterpart, Hathor, was the female companion of Horus.

(2) PLASSART, "*Le Sanctuaire du Culte du Monte Cynthe*", p 279.

significant name, as it means "House of Hwron". Therefore, in consideration of this latter fact, and because Yamnnia was known for at least twelve hundred years to have been the home of the god Hwron, I do not think that we need to search any further for his place of origin. As additional evidence in favour of this theory, we may mention that there are several places in Arabia and Palestine, the names of which are compounded with Hwron, For example: Wadi Hawran in the Syrian Desert, and another Wadi Hawran in the Nejed (1).

Now let us follow Hwron once more into Egypt and try to trace his career there in the light of our recent discoveries.

M. Montet stated that the earliest mention of Hwron in Egypt was in the reign of Hor-em-heb, at the very end of the XVIIIth Dynasty (1350 - 1315 B.C.), but the blue faience plaques in the Brooklyn Museum (*see* p. 54) refer to King Amenhotep II as being the "beloved of Hwrna" (the variant name of Hwron), and the same epithet appears on the limestone doorway of Tutankhamon (*see* p. 26). Thus, this form of the name was known about 100 years earlier than Montet thought.

(1) YAQUT, "*Wustenfeld*", II, 358. *See* also a recent article by JOHN GRAY, "*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*", Vol. III, January 1949, p. 2. where Horon is treated as a God of Healing.



Fig. 33.—A Stela showing the God Hwrna-Hor-em-akhet in the Form of a Hawk

Among the numerous stelae found in the immediate vicinity of the Sphinx in our excavations, there are *many which give the name of the God Hwrna, as well* as its variant, Hwl. The first of these to come to light was No. 38, which bore a large figure of a hawk, very finely executed, and full of delicate detail (Fig. 33). It is inscribed: "O Hwrna-Hor-em-akhet, may he give praise and Love to the Ka of the Servant of Kher-aha (the Egyptian Babylon), Neb-neny"

At first, we were extremely puzzled over the leading word in this inscription, which did not seem to make sense, and we were inclined to look upon it as a mistake on the part of the sculptor, although the general excellence of the work seemed to refute any suggestion of carelessness or lack of skill. Then other stelae bearing the same puzzling word kept coming to light, and we began to suspect the truth of the matter, namely that we were dealing with the name of a foreign god. We were confirmed in our suspicions by the fact that in most of the specimens we found, the name of the donor of the stela had an alien sound to it.

Stela No. 3 is interesting on account of the light which it throws on the functions of this solar God. The upper register shows the usual sphinx couchant

upon a pedestal, while in the lower one is the figure of a shaven-headed man clad in the ample and fanciful kilt that was the last word in fashion at the end of the XVIIIth and beginning of the XIXth Dynasties. In each hand he is holding aloft a small brazier containing a burnt offering. In front of him is inscribed : "Receiving the good things of Hwrna, namely Hor-em-akhet, may he give good time without . . . safety, with a great term, a goodly burial after an old age, to the Ka of the Scribe Tha".

The fact that Tha asks for a "goodly burial" shows that Hwrna, whom he identifies with Hor-em-akhet, the Great Sphinx, was regarded by him as a god of the dead as well as the living (1).

Stela No. 9 was dedicated by a military man, who is shown in the lower register in the full glory of his regimentals, and holding the standard of his brigade. In the upper register is the Sphinx, seen with its temple before it (*see* p. 72, Fig. 14). Surrounding the figure of the donor is an interesting inscription which reads : " Adoration to Hor-em-akhet, in his name of Hwrna. I give praise to thy

(1) On Stela No. 22 the god addressed as Ra-Hor-em-akhet and Hwrna is also petitioned for a goodly burial.

beautiful face, I make content thy beauties. Thou art the Only One, who will exist till eternity, while all people will die. Mayest thou give me good life, while I am following thy Ka. For the Ka of the Fan-bearer of the Phyle of the Amon-nakht Regiment, Khery-itef-u"

Here we have a definite declaration that Hwrna is a god who is identified with Hor-em-akhet, and that the two are regarded as the personification of the One Eternal God. It is not often that we are so fortunate as to get such a clear and definite statement from the monuments.

Stela No. 15 is also important, because it represents the god under the form of a hawk, and so proves that he is really the same god as that represented in the Tanis group of Rameses II. Behind the hawk is a vertical inscription reading: "O Hwrna-Hor-em-akhet, may he give favour and love to the Ka of Amen-em-heb"

On Stela No 39 the god is addressed as "Hwrna-Hor-em-akhet, the Great God, Presiding Over the Setepet".

A variant of the name Hwrna occurs on the stela of the Goat-herd, Inhermes (Stela No. 14); this variant is "Hwrnana".

But we have also seven other stelae which give yet another variant of the name, and that is Hwl. Here, we must mention that in Egyptian, the sign of the couchant lion or sphinx as a hieroglyph is interchangeable as 'R' or 'L', and both signs may be used as pictorial determinatives to the word, or even serve the double purpose of a letter and a determinative. Sometimes the name Hwl is determined by a hawk, and this is a further proof that we are dealing with the Canaanitish god Hwron, the divine hawk.

The first stela to mention the name Hwl that came to light in our excavations (Stela No. 2) bears clear evidence of foreign influence, both in its scenes and inscriptions. On it are sculptured three gods. On the right is a hawk-headed figure whose right hand is clasped in that of a youthful, naked god, who stands before him, and who holds a bundle of weapons. At the extreme left-hand side is a Goddess, clad in a strange, flounced garment, similar to those which the pictures of Asiatic captives show us were worn by the women of Syria and Palestine (1). She has no characteristic head-dress, save a uraeus upon her brow.

(1) *See* Breasted, "*A History of Egypt*", Fig. 119.

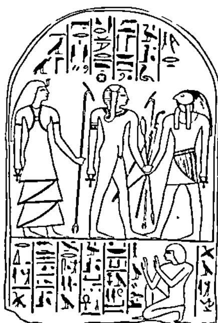


Fig. 34.—A Stela showing the God-Shed



FIG. 35.—THE STELA OF TW-TW-IA

The inscriptions inform us that the hawk-headed god is "The Son of Isis, sweet of love". The young god is "Shed, the Great God, Lord of Heaven, the Clever Archer, beloved of Egypt"; while the goddess is called "Meteri, the Divine Mother".

But in the inscription below it says "Giving adoration to Pa-Shed, and Kissing the earth to Isis the Great, and praising Horus Son of Isis, that they may give life and welfare every day to the Ka of the Measurer of Hwl, Paia" (Fig. 34)

Stela No. 13 shows a man and a woman presenting offerings to the Sphinx who is called by the name of Hwl. The donor of the stela bears the foreign sounding name of Yukh (Fig. 13).

Stela No. 34 is another monument dedicated by a foreigner, whose name was Tw-tw-ia. It is one of those stelae which still bears its original colours, and the flaming red locks of the donor, who was an elderly man, show that he was not unacquainted with the excellent properties of the henna plant (Fig. 35)! On this stela the Sphinx is addressed by the names of Hwl and Hwl-Atum.

Stela No. 66 also shows the Sphinx inscribed with the name of Hwl.

We have also three monuments referring to the Sphinx under the name of Hwl, which can be dated

with certainty to the beginning of the XIXth Dynasty, that is to say about 3,300 years ago. One of these is the stela which Seti I dedicated in the mud-brick Temple of Amenhotep II, on which he states that he "made it as a monument for his father, Hwl-Hor-em-akhet" (*see* p. 211).

The same sentence occurs on the limestone door-posts of the south-western chamber of the temple, which were added by Seti I. The name Hwl also occurs on a beautifully preserved stela (No. 21) which was dedicated by a Vizier of Seti I, named Haity, who had probably accompanied his royal Master on his pilgrimage to the Sphinx (Fig. 36).

If a decisive proof is needed to convince us that Hwrna and Hwl are, in reality, nothing but the variant names of the Canaanitish god Hwron, that proof is forthcoming on Stela No. 87, which is one of the most curious of all the series found in our excavations, and at the same time one of the most interesting, for it preserves the name of this latter god intact, and gives the final irrefutable proof that he was really worshipped in the Giza district.

The stela itself is in the form of a naos, in which was originally an effigy of the god. Apparently he was represented in the form of a hawk-headed

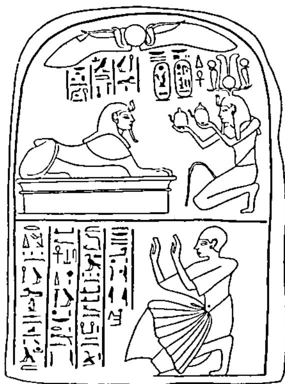


FIG 36.—THE STELA OF THE VIZIER OF SETI I

mummy. The head of the figure, carved in one with the naos, is of stone, but the body was of red pottery, set in a cavity in the stone, cut to its shape. Much of this pottery body, therefore, has fallen out

Above the niche in which stands the figure of the god is a winged disk, but the upward curve of the wings betrays a foreign influence. Down the right-hand side of the stela is inscribed "The Assistant of the Overseer of the Artisans of of the House of Hwran"

Before leaving the subject of these stelae, we must first mention an important specimen, which might help to solve what has long been a geographical mystery. It has long been known from the Greek inscriptions that somewhere in Egypt was situated a town called Horonopolis, in which the Greek form of Hwron was worshipped For many years, archæologists had tried in vain to locate the site of this town, and Horonopolis had remained until now a "lost city".

Then, one day, out of the sands of Giza comes Stela No. 16, which bears above the figure of the Sphinx in its upper register, the inscription: "O Hor-em-akhet, the One of Hwronia, the Great God"; while the inscription in the lower register reads: "A boon which the King gives to thy Ka, O one of

Hwronia, Hor-em-akhet, the Great God. May he give life, prosperity and health to the Ka of the Sculptor of the Lord of the Two Lands, Dhwty-nekht. His sister, his beloved, the Mistress of the House, Anth-em-heb".

Here we have a clear reference to a town bearing the name of Hwronia, and apparently connected with Hwrna and the Sphinx. This connection with the Sphinx led us to suspect that it must have been situated in the neighbourhood. Therefore, we studied all the place-names of the districts and villages lying between Memphis and Heliopolis, and were rewarded by locating a large site lying only about two miles distant from the Sphinx, and which is now divided into two villages named North Harronia and South Harronia respectively.

It seemed too good to be true, but a little investigation soon proved it to be an ancient site, and some inscribed slabs of stone, from some large building, were recovered from it. One day, I hope that this site will receive proper investigation.

Therefore, in view of the identity of the names Hwran and Hwrna, I do not think that we need to look any further for the "lost city" of Horonopolis. It has been located at last, and even bears its old pre-Hellenic name unchanged!

Furthermore, we have a strong clue as to what manner of people inhabited this town. Most of the names of the donors of the sphinx-stelae, particularly those referring to the god under the names of Hwrna or Hwl, appear to be distinctly foreign in construction and sound. This fact, coupled with the evidence that the god they worshipped was of a Canaanitish origin, leads us to suspect that they too were from Canaan. In other words, we have here the record of a Semitic people who, without doubt, lived by themselves, away from the native population, in a town called Hwronia. This would seem to be the earliest form of the ghetto ! These people, perceiving the likeness of the Sphinx to their god, in his role of protector of the King, and who was sometimes represented as hawk-headed, or even in the form of a hawk, to their god Hwron of Ras Shamra, identified the two gods as one. The fact that the two deities could also be regarded as gods of the dead encouraged this fusion.

Finally, let us return once more to the name Hwl, and see what became of it.

As before mentioned, the Great Sphinx has been known since the time of the Arab Conquest until the present day, as Abul-Hol which is translated "the Father of Terror". As a matter of fact, the name

has nothing to do with either "Father" or "Terror" except an accidental resemblance of sound. It is simply a corruption of an ancient Egyptian name: "Per-Hwl", or "Bw-Hwl" meaning the "Place of Hwl", of which we also have the version: "Per-Hwron" on the Inventory Stela (*see* p. 222). That this name has survived intact in place of the purely Egyptian name Hor-em-akhet is readily understood when we remember the affinity between Arabic and that other branch of the Semetic language from which Hwl is derived.

THE STELA OF PA-RA-EM-HEB, A DOCUMENT OF HELIOPOLITAN THEOLOGY

One of the most interesting stelae of those, which were found, in our excavations around the Sphinx, is that of the Director of the Works Pa-Ra-em-heb, whose name means "the Sun is in Festival" (No. 83). It was discovered *in situ* near the Temple of Amenhotep II, and differs from all the other stelae of this district, in that it is inscribed on all its sides which shows that it must have been free-standing, and not set into the wall like the other specimens.

It is inscribed with a long hymn in praise of the Sun-god, which contains passages of unique interest being, as one might say, an epitome of the philosophy of the College of Heliopolis. The fact that this stela was dedicated in the immediate vicinity of the Temple, together with a clear reference to the fusion of the names of the Sun-god, is a positive proof of the innate, undeniable solar character of the Sphinx.

Judging by the ideas expressed in the text, and the style of the work, I think we may consider this monument as dating from the XXIInd Dynasty.

The scene on the obverse of the monument represents the donor, Pa-Ra-em-heb, standing in adoration before the God Atum; behind him is a Goddess, who, from her head-dress, seems to be Hathor.

On the reverse of the stela, Pa-Ra-em-heb is shown adoring the God Ra-Hor-akhty, represented in the form of a hawk headed man, crowned with a large solar disk and uraeus. He is accompanied by a Goddess, similar to the one on the obverse of the stela.

The remainder of the stela, including the thick sides are inscribed with the following long hymn in praise of the Sun-god, with whom the Sphinx is, of course, identified (1) :—

"Hail to thee, King of the Gods, Atum-Kheperi, in the beginning, who has begotten himself as the Unique Lord, the One who came into existence, and no other came into existence with him.

"He made the names of the Gods, before the mountains and the deserts were, and the things under the earth, and thee and thy hands, thou hast made them in a moment (2).

"Thou extendest the ropes (for the plan), and thou didst form the lands, no other god was with thee.

(1) The stela is illegible in many places and I owe many good suggestions in the translation to my Prof. Dr. Junker.

(2) This inconsequent changing of the pronoun is typical of Egyptian texts.

"Thou didst make secret the Underworld . . . and the earth is under thy leading. Thou didst make high the sky to elevate thy soul, in thy name of Kai (High).

"Thou hast built for thee a castle in the holy desert with hidden name, and thou risest in the day opposite to them, in thy manner of every morning, for ever.

"A boon which the King gives, and Amen the Lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis, the Good God, Lord of . . .

"A boon which the King gives, and [illegible], Mistress of Heaven, Mistress of All Lands, may they give a nice lifetime in their [illegible], for the Director of the Works, Pa-Ra-em-heb the Justified, the Possessor of Honour.

"Praising Ra . . . [illegible] Pa-Ra-em-heb, the Justified [illegible] thee, Kheperi-Amen-Harmachis [illegible] Great . . . whose [illegible] beautiful face, [illegible]

"Thou [illegible] according to all [illegible]

(1) A [illegible]

born out of thy Mother (1) every day. Thou art crossing the sky with a good wind (2) . . .

" Praising Ra when he shines in the horizon . . . what is above and beneath the sky.

"The sky is jubilating, the earth is shouting for joy. The crew of Ra make praises every day. Smitten is the Enemy of Atum every day (3), Ra comes forth in triumph. Ra comes forth in triumph. Ra comes forth in triumph. Ra comes forth in triumph (4).

" A boon which the King gives, and the Goddess . . . the Mother of . . . Hathor, Mistress of Hetep; may they give intelligence, favour and love, and offerings to the Ka of the Director of All the Works of the King. Pa-Ra-em-heb. Justified. the son of Pa-ankhet

" Praising Ra-Hor-akhty-Atum, the One who is in Heliopolis. by the Director of All the Works of the King. Pa-Ra-em-heb. Thou risest and shinest. thou

(1) A reference to the belief that the sun was born of the Goddess Nut. the personification of the sky. who gave birth to him every morning in the East.

(2) It was believed that the sun travelled across the sky in a divine boat. See my " *Excavations at Giza* ", Vol. I, Part I.

(3) The Enemy of Atum would be the evil serpent Apopi, who always attempted to obstruct that passage of the Sun-god.

(4) This fourfold repetition is common in Egyptian religious texts. It originated when the Magician-priest used to recite the magical formulæ to the four points of the compass. and thus to the Gods who preside over them. *See* my " *Excavations at Giza* ", Vol. VI, Part II.

risest, the Holy Apes, Amy and Haiyty (1) adore thee, and every god and goddess of . . . is praising thee every day. Thou art in heaven, and across the sky, and knoweth even the plans of the Dwat (2). The great Khenu in Hermonthis (3) . . . Thebes.

"Hail to thee who shines as Gold (4), who jubilates when Ra is rising, rejoicing . . . Mistress of the . . . Diadem on the brows, Strong of heart as the . . . of the Solar boats. Bastet and Uto . . of names; *Khentyt hbyt*, Queen in Pe, Companion of Ra whom he loveth, his Sole One. The One on the head of Atum in the Chapel with secret words, in . . .

"The great ones are praising . . . made in praises sweet . . . *to them.*"

Note how this hymn begins with the story of the Creation, and the recognition of the Sun-god as the Supreme Being, the self-created Architect of the Universe. Moreover, there is a great similarity between this account of the Creation, and that given in Genesis and other religious books, a similarity

(1) The holy apes are spirits in ape-form who were supposed to chant hymns of praise to the Sun-god each morning. The idea surely arose from the curious habit, which the dog-faced apes have, of chattering shrilly in unison at the rising of the sun, as though they were, in reality, sun-worshippers!

(2) A name for the Underworld.

(3) A town near Thebes, the modern Armant.

(4) A name for the Goddess Hathor, who is now . . . hymn.

extending even to the passage recording the creation of the Gods (Angels) before the world came into existence.

The following passage is perhaps the gem of the whole inscription, affording at once an interesting idea, poetically expressed, and showing a clear connection between the solar cult and the sphinx and its surrounding monuments. I refer to the passage which says: "Thou hast built for thee a castle in the Holy Desert with hidden name ('Shtyt' which means 'hidden', 'secret'), and thou risest in the sky opposite to them after thy manner of every morning, for ever".

This seems to show that at the time when this stela was made, the Egyptians had completely forgotten the origin of the Sphinx and its temple, and were inclined to attribute them to divine agency. This idea is clearly expressed in a Græco-Roman inscription of the paw of the Sphinx, where it says: "Thy formidable form is the work of the Immortal Gods" (*see* p. 236).

Indeed, the remarkable skill displayed in these monuments, the precision of detail, combined with their colossal dimensions, might well lead a people of a more degenerate age to see in them a clear evidence of divine handiwork.

THE REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SPHINX ON SCARABS

BEFORE leaving the subject altogether, it remains to mention a class of monuments upon which the figure of the Sphinx appears, and that is the scarabs.

As everyone knows, scarabs are small models of the beetle *Scarabaeus sacer*. These creatures have the remarkable habit of forming a ball of dung, often as large or larger than the insect itself. In this ball, the female lays her eggs. The *scarabaeus* then grasps the ball between its powerful, specially constructed, hind legs, and rolls it along the ground until it comes to a suitable spot, when it digs a hole, and buries the ball. In due time, the grubs hatch out, feed upon the ball of dung, and finally emerge as fully developed beetles. The Egyptians, always keen observers of Nature, saw in the beetle rolling its ball of dung, an emblem of the Sun-god rolling the disk of the sun across the sky, therefore, they selected it as the symbol of the God Kheperi, the Morning Sun-god. The appearance of the fully developed beetle out of the buried ball of dung also associated it in their minds with the word '*kheper*'

'to form' and as they thought that the beetle was self-created, they further looked upon it as Kheperi in his role of Creator-god who formed the world and all thing out of clay (1).

As the Sphinx was also identified with Kheperi, it is not to be wondered at that we frequently find the scarab and the Sphinx associated. The upper part of the scarab represents the natural beetle, but the base is usually quite flat, and bears an inscription, device or representation. These fascinating little objects were generally used as seals, but were also employed as amulets for the living and the dead.

The commonest inscriptions, found upon scarabs, are royal names, the names of private persons, names of gods, good wishes, pious mottoes, or representations of gods, kings, sacred animals or divine emblems. Frequently the scarabs bear representations of the Sphinx, either alone, or accompanied by a king's name, and it is this latter class which concerns us here.

The earliest scarabs on which the Sphinx is depicted, date from the time of the Hyksos Conquest, and we may assume that the invaders, coming as strangers to the country, were perhaps impressed with the idea

(1) Newberry, "*Scarabs*", p. 61 ; *see* also Fabre, "*Souvenir Entomologique V*" (1897), pp. 1-85, for the true significance of this ball.

A



B



C





D



E



F

Fig. 37.—Scarabs bearing Representations of Sphinxes

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A

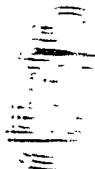












D

Fig. 37.—Scarabs [illegible]

of the sphinx, and readily adopted it both as a representation of a divine being and as a conquering monarch.

They were also apparently impressed with the scarab, and recognized in it a convenient means of spreading their propaganda in a form, in which it would readily be understood by the Egyptians. Therefore, they issued a number of these scarabs showing the conquering sphinx trampling upon its foes (Fig. 37 *A*, *B*), a motif which no doubt appealed to their warlike natures. Moreover, they displayed a grim sense of humour in using against the Egyptians a device long since employed by these latter in respect to other nations. It must have been a fruitful source of rage and shame to a patriotic Egyptian to see a king of the hated foreigners represented in a manner which his ultra-conservative mind was accustomed to associate with the once all-powerful Pharaoh.

If these scarab talismans, so decorated, were distributed to the officials, to be worn by them, with perhaps vindictive persecution in the case of failure to comply with the regulation to wear them, it must have been one of the most cruel acts of the conquerors, for it struck a blow at the very heart of the national pride of the Egyptians.

When represented in the above-mentioned manner, no legend accompanies the Sphinx, the idea being

that the plain representation of the physical power of the conquering king was sufficient magic to conjure with.

Sometimes the sphinxes shown upon scarabs of the Hyksos Period are female, in which case they probably represent the goddess Ashtoreth, the great patron goddess of the Canaanites (Fig. 37 *C*). After the expulsion of the Hyksos at the beginning of the XVIIth Dynasty, Ashtoreth disappears from Egypt, owing to the detestation which was felt to anything appertaining to the hated race. She reappears again when friendly relations had once more been established between Egypt and some of her Asiatic neighbours, in the XVIIIth Dynasty, and as we have already seen, she is sometimes represented as a female sphinx (*see* p. 110).

These Hyksos sphinxes on the scarabs are all characterized by an air of brutal vigour, which is astonishing in so minute a representation.

Later scarabs bearing representations of the Sphinx may be divided into three classes :—

(1) Those representing divine sphinxes, either Hor-em-akhet, or another god of a solar nature who was identified with the sphinx.

(2) The king in the form of a sphinx, either alone, trampling upon its enemies, or accompanied by symbolic emblems (Fig. 37 *E*).

(3) Scarabs bearing the representation of the Sphinx, the name of a god, and a royal cartouche. The divine name in this latter class denotes the deity identified with the Sphinx, protecting the king, who is personified by his cartouche (Fig. 37 *F*).

In some examples, the Sphinx is depicted on the scarabs with its head turned in a reverse direction to its body (Fig. 37 *D*). This signifies the action of the god in turning his head to listen to the prayers of his worshippers, and is often accompanied by the ideogram for the word ' to hear ', denoting the god listening to the prayers.

Another favourite device on talismanic scarabs is the name of a powerful king, whose cartouche was considered a "name to conjure with".

This explains the fact that we often find the names of the Pyramid Builders of the Old Kingdom inscribed upon scarabs, although this form of talisman was unknown at that time. These particular scarabs usually date from the Saitic Period, when there was a great revival of the worship of these kings. Another king whose scarabs are very numerous is Thothmes III and a great many of them also bear representations of the Sphinx. Many of these were actually contemporary with the Pharaoh, and show him in the well-known form of the [illegible]

upon its enemies. Perhaps Thothmes issued such scarabs for distribution to commemorate his many victories in his Asiatic campaigns.

But the name of Thothmes III remained a word of power long after his death, and it was certainly the most frequently used name on these talismanic scarabs.

The XVIIIth Dynasty being the age of conquest, most of the scarabs of this period bear representations of sphinxes, of the three classes mentioned. Sometimes the figure of a lion is substituted for that of a sphinx (Fig. 37 *A*), but the poses are identical, and this proves the close relationship between the Sphinx and the sun, even in its secular form.

From the foregoing pages, one can see how the Sphinx, by reason of its gigantic size, and the genius of its originator, who imparted to its features that air of godlike aloofness, had attracted the attention of the Egyptians from the beginning of its history down to the Arab Conquest.

THE ROYAL VISITORS TO THE SPHINX FROM THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY DOWN TO THE GRÆCO-ROMAN PERIOD

IN the early part of the XVIIIth Dynasty, it suddenly became the custom for the rulers and princes of the Royal Family to visit the Sphinx and its neighbourhood.

The chief purpose of these visits seems to have been for the sake of religious pilgrimage, but often the pilgrimage was combined with another important motive, namely sport, because the desert in this region abounded with game of every description, and was known as " the Valley of Gazelles ". So well known was this district, and so famed for its big game, that its name passed into popular idiom, and in the so-called " Poem of Pentaour (1) " which described the exploits of Rameses II in the Battle of Kadesh, the Pharaoh is likened to a " fierce lion in the Valley of Gazelles ".

(1) See my "*Le Poème dit de Pentaour, et le Rapport Officiel sur la Bataille de Kadesh*". In reality, Pentaour was not the author of the poem, but was a scribe who made a copy of it upon papyrus.

In the scenes that decorate the interior walls of the Causeway of Wnas at Sakkara are many representations of the wild animals of the desert, and these include deer, lyre antelope, addax, oryx, ibex, moufflon, dorcas gazelle, wild oxen, lions, leopards, servals, giraffe, foxes, jackals, wild goats, desert hares, hedgehogs and jerboas. As the capital of Wnas was probably at Heliopolis, and as the Valley of Gazelles lay within the boundaries of the Heliopolitan Nome, these scenes may very possibly represent the wild life to be found in the Giza district, and suggest that it was probably a popular hunting-ground, even in the Old Kingdom. Apart from providing good sport, this neighbourhood had the additional advantage of being within easy reach of both Memphis and Heliopolis, the old secular and religious capitals respectively.

The royal visitors honoured the Sphinx as their protector and as the guardian of the desert, and there is no doubt that it was this kingly patronage that brought the cult of the Sphinx into such prominence at this time, for since the XIIth Dynasty it had apparently been in complete abeyance. As in the case of the cult of Amon and the rise of Thebes, so the cult of the Sphinx rose into prominence as soon as the district, in which it existed, became the pleasure resort of kings.

The custom of visiting the Sphinx, and the publicity given to its cult, probably gave a new impetus to the fashion of portraying the king in the form of a sphinx, and this being also the age of Conquest, the Pharaohs delighted in representing themselves in the form of victorious sphinxes, trampling upon their prostrate foes (Fig. 30 *A*) an allegory, which, as we have seen, originated in the Vth Dynasty.

The first royal visitor to the Sphinx, of whom we have any record, is Prince Amen-mes, the son of Thothmes I (1557 B.C.). An inscription on a stone naos, now in the Louvre, reads : " Year 4 under the Majesty of Thothmes I, beloved of Hor-em-akhet (the Sphinx) given life like Ra, for ever. There went forth the Eldest King's Son, the Commander in Chief of the Army of His Father, Amen-mes, living for ever, to take a pleasure walk. . . (1)".

The rest of the inscription is lost, but the reference to Hor-em-akhet, a name given *only* to the Great Sphinx of Giza, is sufficient evidence as to where this pleasure walk took place. Again, the reference to Thothmes I as being the beloved of Hor-em-akhet, is significant. Why was he styled the beloved of a

(1) BREASTED, " Ancient Records ", Vol. II, p 321. It is probable that Amen-mes was the eldest son and Heir Apparent of Thothmes I, and, therefore, a brother of the great Queen Hatshepsut, and a rival to her claim to the throne.

hitherto somewhat obscure god? This seems to point to the fact that the King was in some way connected with the Sphinx, and it is not at all unlikely that he was the builder of the mud-brick temple lying to the north-east of that of Amenhotep II. From the stela of King Ay, to which we shall refer later, we know that Thothmes I had a house and lands in this neighbourhood, in which case it was probably he or his sons who started (or perhaps re-started) the vogue of big-game hunting in this region.

Amen-mes was followed in his associations with the Sphinx by his kinsman Thothmes III, the most famous Pharaoh of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

It is not surprising to find a relic of Thothmes III in this place, for the old warrior and empire-builder was also a noted archer and hunter. A stela discovered at Armant describes the exploits of Thothmes III as follows:—

"Year 22, second month of winter, day 16. Summary of the deeds of might and victory which the Good God performed, being very excellent occasion of valour from the beginning, since the first generation of men. What the Lord of the Gods, the Lord of Hermonthis (modern "Armant") did for him, was to magnify his victories, so that his conquests might be related for

millions of years to come, omitting to mention the deeds of valour which His Majesty performed daily, for if one were to mention each occasion by name they would be too numerous to put into writing. He shot at a copper ingot, all wood having been split like reeds. His Majesty set up a sample one in the Temple of Amon-Ra, a target of wrought copper three digits in thickness, with an arrow of his in it, which he had caused to protrude three palm breadths through at the back of it, that he might fulfil the wish of his followers for success in might and victory I speak in accordance with what he (actually) did, there is neither deceit nor falsehood in it. If he spends time in taking recreation in hunting in any desert, the number of his trophies is greater than the spoils of the whole army. He killed seven lions when out shooting, in the twinkling of an eye. He secured a herd of twelve wild cattle in an hour, when breakfast time came, their tails to be worn behind him (1).

"He despatched 120 elephants in the mountain country of Niy, when coming from Naharin. He crossed the Euphrates and crushed towns on its banks, they being laid waste with fire for ever. He set up a stela

(1) A reference to the bull's tail, which, in primitive times, the kings wore hanging from the back of their belts

of Victory on (its eastern bank). He bagged a rhinoceros when shooting in the southern desert region of Nubia, when he went to Miu to seek out him who had rebelled against him in that land (1)".

The remainder of the text relates to the King's prowess in war, and so does not concern us here.

As we shall see later, this shooting at a copper target of a regulation thickness of three fingers was the supreme test of archery. The aim was not merely to hit the target, but to pierce it through. This could only be done by the use of an unusually powerful bow, and was thus a testimony of great physical strength as well as of unerring marksmanship, for only a very strong man could have drawn such a bow.

When shooting, the Egyptian archers stood sideways to the target, and holding the bow at arm's length, drew the arrow back to the ear (*see* Fig. 42). It will be seen that such bows and arrows were very formidable weapons.

Note that the inscription says that Thothmes was in the habit of hunting in any desert. That is to say he must have been a keen sportsman, and did not fail to avail himself of any opportunity to indulge himself in this pastime, whenever an opportunity

(1) MEYERS and MOND, "*Temples of Armant*" (text), p. 183.

presented itself. Therefore, we may be sure that he did not fail to make the most of the good hunting to be had in the Valley of Gazelles.

Even when on his campaigns abroad, Thothmes found time to relax from the serious business of war, in order to refresh himself in the chase. The mention of the elephant hunt at Niy on the Armant Stela has an independent corroboration in the biographical inscription of the officer Amen-em-heb (1). But the latter account reveals another side to the story, and relates how the hunter became the hunted !

It seems that on this occasion, his love of hunting nearly cost Thothmes III his life, for the bull of the Herd, wounded by the King's arrows, suddenly turned upon him. There is no doubt that the King's life was in danger, but Amen-em-heb, who was one of his officers, and a member of the hunting-party, distracted the attention of the enraged beast, which left the King and pursued Amen-em-heb instead. The latter took refuge between two rocks in the river, and from this point of vantage, managed to cut off the trunk of the elephant, while it was trying to pull him out of his place of safety. For this act of heroism, the officer Amen-em-heb was suitably rewarded by his grateful King.

(1) PETRIE, " *A History of Egypt* ", Vol II, p 124.

It would be interesting to know if the great Queen Hatshepsut, the Aunt and Mother-in-law of Thothmes III, who ruled Egypt in her own right, ever came to Giza. We have no information on this point, but the lady's partiality for sphinxes is marked, and many specimens made for her are in existence. It is to be noted that all Hatshepsut's sphinxes are bearded and male, a characteristic gesture on the part of the Queen who wished always to stress upon her *Kingship* (1).

The next royal visitor to the Sphinx is Amenhotep II, the son and successor of Thothmes III. Like his famous father, Amenhotep II was a great sportsman and an athlete, as his inscriptions state, and his mummy, which is that of a tall, powerful man, supports the claim. Indeed, archery seems to have been a lifelong passion with Amenhotep, for in Theban Tomb No. 109, which belonged to a certain Min, Mayor of Thinis, who had in his youth fought in the wars of Thothmes III, we have an interesting glimpse of the childhood of the future champion. Min was the tutor of the young Prince Amenhotep II, who in one scene is shown as a naked child seated in the lap of his teacher; this shows that he was quite a little chap when he was handed over to the guidance of the old veteran.

(1) For other sphinxes of Queens, and female sphinxes in general, see p. 106 *ff*.

Another pleasing scene shows Min teaching his young charge how to shoot. The little boy, clad in a loose, transparent robe, is aiming his arrow at a rectangular target set upon a post, in which he has already scored four hits. Behind him stands Min, correcting the pose of the boy's arms. The inscription reads : " He (Min) gave the lad first rules of instructions in archery, saying : 'Stretch the bow to thy ear, use all the strength of thy arms, fit the arrow. . O Prince Amenhotep' "

The scene is entitled : " The Prince (Amenhotep) enjoying a lesson in archery in the courtyard of the Castle in Thinis (1) ".

As already mentioned, Amenhotep II built a small temple and dedicated a stela in honour of the Sphinx. This stela, which measures 4·25 metres high, 2·53 metres wide and 53 cm. thick, is divided into two registers. The upper register is badly weathered and worn, but bears faint traces of a duplicate representation of the King presenting offerings to the Sphinx. There was evidently a flaw in the stone on the lower right-hand side of the top register, and the faulty piece was neatly cut away by the ancient mason, who inserted a sound piece in the cavity. The lower

(1) Davies, " The Bulletin of the [illegible] (1935), pp 52, 53

register bears twenty-seven rows of hieroglyphs, finely incised, and are in a perfect state of preservation. They read (Fig. 38) :—

"Live Horus, the Strong Bull, Mighty of Power ([1]), King of Upper and Lower Egypt, mighty of authority, who appears as King in Thebes. The Golden Horus: he who conquers everything with his mace in all the lands; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Aa-Kheperu-Ra, the Son of Ra: Amenhotep, the Divine Ruler of Heliopolis, Son of Amon, who created him, the offspring of Hor-akhty, the glorious seed of the divine members, whose forms Neith ([2]) had created, the One whom the Primordial God of the Two Lands had brought to life, in order to seize the reign which he had conquered, and whom he made to appear himself as King on the Throne of the Living; and to whom he assigned Egypt under his direction, and the deserts as his subjects, and to whom he transmitted the inheritance for ever, and the kingship to eternity. To whom had he given the throne of the earth and the magnificent office of the God Atum, and the possessions of Horus and Set ([3]),

([1]) These and the following epithets are those usually given to the Kings of Egypt.

([2]) Neith was an ancient Goddess, whose chief centre of worship was in Sais, in Lower Egypt.

([3]) i.e. Upper and Lower Egypt, which had been divided between these two rival Gods.

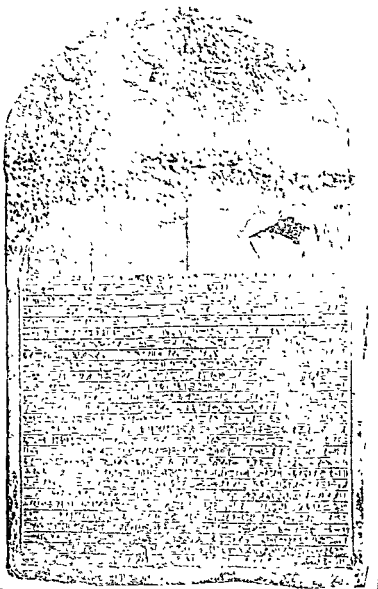


FIG. 38.—THE GREAT LIMESTONE STELA OF AMENHOTEP II

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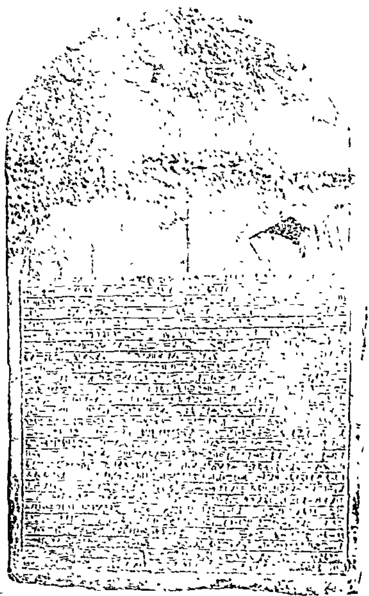


FIG. 38.—THE GREAT LIMESTONE STELA OF AMENHOTEP II

and the share of the two Goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, and their years in life and welfare. To whom he had placed his daughter (Maat) upon his body (1) to whom he had fixed his diadem upon his head.

"He had trodden the Nubians under his sandals; the Northerners are bowing to his power, and all the foreign lands are under his fear; and the Gods are under his love. Amon himself promoted him as the ruler of what his eye is encircling, and what the disk of Ra lightens. He has taken the whole of Egypt, the South Land and the North Land being under his care; the Red Land (2) delivers to him its products, while every foreign land is under his protection. His boundaries are reaching to that which heaven encircles, the lands being in his hands in one Knot. He had appeared as King upon the Great Throne, reuniting to himself the Two Great Magicians (3), the Two Mighty Ones (3) had joined his head, and the Atef of Ra (4) his summit. His

(1) This may refer to the golden figure of the Goddess Maat, the personification of Truth and Justice, which was worn by *Judges as the insignia of their office*. *The King*, of course, was the Supreme Judge.

(2) *The Desert*, the products of which would be minerals and the fine stone used for statues and other monuments.

(3) The names of crowns which were *personified*, and visualizes as two powerful goddesses, whose magic protected the king against his enemies.

(4) The name of a crown worn by gods and kings.

front was adorned with the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, he had taken the bands, the Kheperesh (1) and the Khufieh, the two grand feathers are on his head, and the nemes had enveloped his shoulders (2). Joined, then, are the Diadems of Atum, and assigned to his image according to the orders of the Gods. Amon, the Primordial God who had made him appear, gave the order that he might take the whole land reunited, and without any omission, (namely he) the Son of Ra, Amenhotep, the Ruler of Heliopolis, the glorious seed of (Amon), the Illustrious Egg of the Divine Members, the noble one of authority, the one who, on coming forth from the womb, had already set up the White Crown, the one who had conquered the earth, being one with whom is the fluid of Egypt (3), the one against whom there is no enemy in what the Eye of Atum is casting its rays upon; the strength of Montu (4) being in his limbs, whose victories are like those of the Son of Nut (5); the one who joined the heraldic plant of

(1) The war-helmet of the Pharaohs.

(2) The divine and royal head-cloth. It is the head-dress most commonly worn by the Sphinx.

(3) The one who has Egyptian blood in his veins.

(4) The god of war, whose chief centre of worship was at Hermonthis. the modern Armant.

(5) The evil god, Set, is regarded here, however, as a powerful warrior-god.

Upper Egypt to that of Lower Egypt. The Northerners and the Southerners are under his terror, the one whose share is that of what Ra is shining upon. The one to whom belongs what the great ocean is encircling, and the arm of whose messenger is not repelled along all the lands of the Fenkhew (?), and to whom there is no second against the enemies of Horus (?). There is no other protection for mankind, (except him); the one to whom the Southerners come in bowing and the Northerners upon their bellies; reunited (all of them) in his fist the one whose mace is smashing their heads according to that which the Lord of the Gods, Amon-Ra-Atum had ordered, the one who conquers the lands in triumph, without anyone who might [illegible] him in all eternity.

"Now, His Majesty appeared as King [illegible] was a nice youth with [illegible] body, after [illegible] completed eighteen years on his legs in [illegible]. He knew every [illegible] nobody [illegible] him in the [illegible]. He was a connoisseur [illegible] and there was nobody like him among the [illegible] soldiers, not a single one of them being able to [illegible] his bow and he could not be reached in the [illegible]

(1) A people of Syria-Lebanon.

(2) The [illegible]

"Strong of arm, without being tired, when he drew the oar. He was rowing in the quarter-deck of his falcon boat, equipped with two hundred men. They left the shore, and made half a mile of rowing; then they became feeble, their limbs growing tired, they could not take breath (any more). Then His Majesty was strong with his oar of twenty ells' length. He left the shore, and landed after having made three miles of rowing against the stream, without ceasing to work, while the people were admiring him, looking at him.

"He did the following thing; he drew three hundred strong bows, comparing their artisans, in order to discern the ignorant from the skilful. Now he came and did what is put before your faces. He entered his northern place, and he found there were established for him four targets made of Asiatic copper, the thickness of which was a hand's breadth, and twenty ells were between one post and the next. Then His Majesty appeared upon his team of horses, like Montu in his strength. He drew out his bow, and he seized four arrows together. He went north, and he shot at it like Montu in his equipment, and his arrow had come out on its back (*i.e.* at the back of the target). Then he attacked another post. That is a thing that has never been done before, and it has not been heard in narrative: 'An arrow had been

shot against a target of copper, and [illegible] of it, and had fallen to the ground [illegible] (such a thing had happened) with [illegible] was strong in might, and when [illegible] strengthened, namely the King [illegible] Egypt, Aa-kheperu-Ra. [illegible]

"Now, when he was still [illegible] he loved his horses, [illegible] he was glad to treat [illegible] and was clever in [illegible] Then, when this was [illegible] father, Horus the [illegible] Thebes, sweetly [illegible] when he heard [illegible] eldest son, and [illegible] will be Lord [illegible] assailant for [illegible] valour, and [illegible] child, and [illegible] Montu, [illegible] the body [illegible] has put [illegible] be protected [illegible]

"[illegible] surrounding [illegible] horses in the [illegible]

Memphis, and say unto him : be careful about them; *let them trot, manage them if they are recalcitrant !*'.

"Now, after that, it was put before the King's Son that he might occupy himself with the horses of the King's stable, and when he had been making what he had been charged of—while Reshep and Ashtoreth (¹) were glad of him—in making everything which his heart liked, he brought up horses that had no equal, and could not grow tired. When he took the reins they did not pour sweat, even in a long gallop. He yoked the horses in Memphis, when he was still young, and stopped at the Sanctuary of Hor-em-akhet. He spent a time there in going round it (in the chariot) looking at the beauty of the Sanctuary of Khufu and Khafra, the Revered. His heart longed to keep alive their names, and he put it in his heart.

"Now, he used to fulfil what his father Ra had ordered. Now, after that, His Majesty was crowned as King, and the Diadem took its seat upon his head, *the emblem of Ra reposing upon its place*, while the land was peaceful like before, under its Master. Aa-kheperu-Ra governed the Two Lands, all the foreign lands being attached to his sandals . . . Then His Majesty remembered the place where he

(1) Reshep and Ashtoreth were deities imported into Egypt from Western Asia. They are here regarded as being of a warlike nature.

rejoiced himself in the neighbourhood of the Pyramids of Hor-em-akhet, and it was ordered to erect a Sanctuary there, and to erect in it a stela of limestone, on which is inscribed his great name Aa-kheperu-Ra, beloved of Hor-em-akhet, to whom is given life eternally."

It will be noticed that Amenhotep says that he was given the horses from the royal stud at Memphis, and that he drove from Memphis to the Pyramids; all of which happened in his youth. Now, there is a scarab in the Flinders Petrie Collection, upon which is inscribed: "Amenhotep II, born at Memphis". Here is a tiny seal which literally sets the seal of truth upon the narrative of the great limestone stela.

It is not quite clear if Amenhotep paid another visit to the Sphinx after his coronation, but as he dedicated the temple and the stela there, we may assume that not only was he present at the consecration ceremony, but also that he probably hunted there.

Queen Tyaa, the wife of Amenhotep II and mother of Thothmes IV, dedicated a statue of herself in her husband's temple, presumably after his death, as her title 'King's Mother' shows that the statue must have been made during the reign of her son Thothmes IV. We recovered two fragments of this statue, [illegible]

which were inscribed, and among the trite repetitions of the Queen's titles, there is a curious, but unfortunately mutilated line which reads: " . . . keeping away from me . . . may he dispel my sadness . . . Tyaa; may my City God be behind me, may his Ka be before me; may he drive away . . . etc.".

Among the stereotyped official praises and titles in the rest of the inscription, there is a touch of deep human feeling in the line where the Queen prays to be relieved from her sadness.

To the west of the Great Stela of Amenhotep, and set in the northern wall of the Temple, is a smaller stela, also bearing the name of Amenhotep II. The text of this stela is almost a verbatim repetition of the beginning of the text of the Great Stela. The most interesting feature of this stela lies in a representation of a winged solar disk at the top of the stela, which is represented as having human arms and hands which support a large cartouche, apparently of Thothmes III. The presence of the arms to the disk seems to suggest that we have here a forerunner of the Aton disk as depicted by Akhenaton, namely the disk of the sun, from which emanate rays ending in human hands. This symbol was the visible form of the Monotheistic god, who has hitherto been thought to have been so depicted only under the reign

of Akhenaton. If our representation can be considered an expression of the same idea, then it is here in use four generations earlier than has hitherto been suspected.

Among all the stelae that came to light during our excavation of the Amphitheatre of the Sphinx, there are three which are larger and finer than those usually dedicated by private officials. Each of these stelae bears a representation of a noble youth, apparently a prince, presenting offerings to the Sphinx and to a statue of a king, in two cases, that of Amenhotep II. In each case the name of the prince (which on one stela was enclosed in a cartouche) has been carefully erased, but so skilfully has this been done, that no signs of the accompanying inscriptions of praise to the God and no sacred symbol have been injured. Thus, these erasures were made by some person who had a personal grudge against the Prince, but none against the king or the God. It was not the work of the fanatical Atonists (Figs. 39, 40, 41).

On one stela (Fig. 41), the name of the Prince has been erased in the body of the text, but by some oversight it has been overlooked, and suffered to remain in two places at the bottom of the outer frame, and from this we know that he was called Amenem-Apt, and that he held some of the highest offices in the kingdom.

Now the question is: who are the Princes represented on these stelae? Are they the same person, or are they three different youths, perhaps brothers. As they are all represented wearing the plaited side-lock of youth, we must consider them all as minors. In order to try and solve the mystery, let us consider the evidence of the stelae, which for convenience we will call 'A' 'B' and 'C'. First, let us take Stela 'A' (Fig. 39). We learn from it that a young Prince, of personable appearance, presented offerings to the Sphinx and to a statue of Amenhotep II, and that some malicious person erased the identity of this Prince, but took great care not to injure any divine name or symbol. That this enemy was not an Atonist may be proved by the fact that the name of Amon, the *bête noire* of these fanatics was left uninjured.

Now let us look at the evidence of Stela 'B' (Fig. 40). Here we find represented a young Prince, who closely resembles the one on Stela 'A', and who also honours the Sphinx and a statue of Amenhotep II. This Prince, who by the evidence of his side-lock, has not yet come of age, bears many high and important titles, which are, in his case, almost certainly honorary ones.

The inscription above the head of this Prince is almost identical with that in the same position on

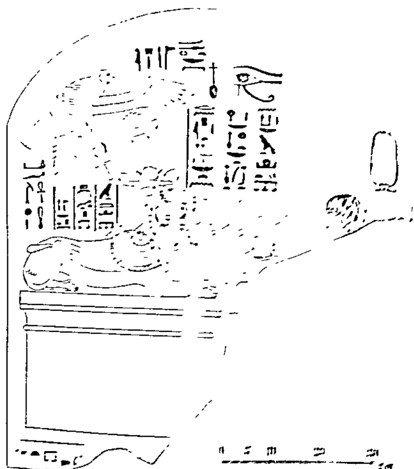


Fig. [illegible].—The [illegible]

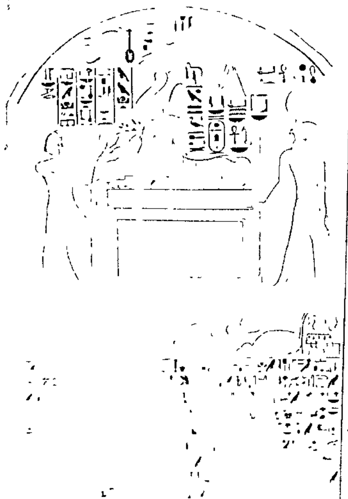
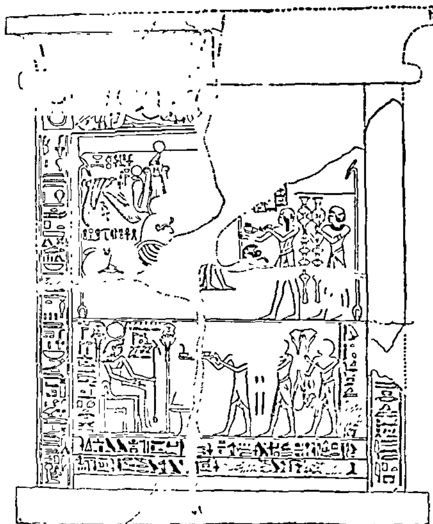


FIG. 40.—THE STELA OF PRINCE 'B.'



0 5 10 20 30 cm.

Fig. 41.—The Stela "C" of Prince Amen-em-Apt

Stela 'A', and this weighs heavily in favour of the two monuments belonging to the same person. This stela has also suffered mutilation at the hands of some person whose sole aim was to destroy the identity of the Prince; religious fanaticism was not responsible for this outrage, as no divine symbol or name has been injured. The name of the Prince had been enclosed in a cartouche, the outlines of which alone are visible

Stela 'C' (Fig. 41) shows a Prince, who appears to be the same as those on Stelae 'A' and 'B', but whose name, Amen-em-Apt, has been overlooked by his enemies on two places, namely at the bottom of the frame (1). Elsewhere it has been erased. This Prince is also represented as honouring the Sphinx and a statue of a king, the name of the latter being lost through a breakage in the stone, but which does not appear to have been a wanton erasure This Prince is also represented as honouring the Goddess Isis.

Now let us see what conclusions we can draw from these facts :—

(1) The three stelae are similar in style and workmanship, as well as in period

(1) It is possible that the bottom of the stela had been covered by sand, which the artisans, ordered to erase the name, were too lazy o to clear away. A spell of windy weather will quickly cause monument to become sanded up in a very little while.

(2) The name of the Prince is given in one instance as Amen-em-Apt.

(3) This youth was a King's Son.

(4) In one instance the erased names of the Prince were enclosed in a cartouche.

(5) In two instances the Princes are presenting offerings to the statue of Amenhotep II as well as to the Sphinx.

(6) The names of these Princes were erased by a personal enemy, who held no spite against the Gods or the King.

(7) On Stela 'C', the Prince also offers to the statue of a king, but the name of the latter is lost, apparently through accidental breakage rather than through wanton erasure.

Taking all these things into consideration, it seems that the Princes of these stelae were the sons of Amenhotep II, or possibly even a single son, and the person who made the erasure of the names was Thothmes IV, a younger brother. When we come to consider the text of the Granite Stela, we shall see that the Sphinx speaks to Thothmes in a dream, and makes a bargain with him, to the effect that if he, the Prince, will clear away the encumbering sand

from his image, the Sphinx will give him the crown of Egypt. Clearly then, Thothmes was not the heir to the throne, if he were, the promise of the Sphinx would have been meaningless, for he would have automatically become King on the death of his father.

We *may suppose*, then, that the elder brothers (or brother) stood in the way of his ambitions, and that Thothmes removed them (or him) in some way, either by death or disgrace, and then obliterated their names in order that their very memories might be forgotten.

He *may even have fabricated* the story of his dream in order to justify his action [1], and this would account for the promptitude with which he fulfilled his part of the "bargain".

In support of this theory, it may be mentioned that we know that Amenhotep II had several sons, and in his "*History of Egypt*", Vol. II, p. 165, Petrie says : "Probably there were five or seven other sons of Amenhotep II, for in the tomb of the tutor of Thothmes IV, Hek-er-neheh, where Thothmes is a boy on the tutor's knee, there are several other King's Sons represented, unhappily all their names have

(1) From the time of the Vth Dynasty, it had been the habit of kings who had not an absolute legal right to the throne, to invent some story of divine intervention, in order to legitimize their irregular accessions. This device was afterwards employed by Queen Hatshepsut, Thothmes III, Thothmes IV, Amenhotep III and Hor-em-heb

been erased, and from the absence of any other mention of them, it would seem as if their royal brother was unkind to their memories, if not to themselves".

I am afraid that this theory does not present Thothmes IV in a very favourable light, and if he were not actually a wholesale murderer (and there seems to be grounds for suggesting that he was), at least he was a cold-hearted egoist. Perhaps he was the cause of the sorrow of which his mother, the Queen Tyaa, complains in the inscription on her statue.

A similar case of the erasure of names occurs in the XIXth Dynasty, when the name and portraits of a son of Seti I, perhaps an elder brother of Rameses II, were removed from the battle scenes of Seti at Karnak.

But to return to the unfortunate Prince Amen-em-Apt; he apparently upheld the family tradition of visiting the Sphinx and dedicating stelae, so we may suppose that he was also a hunter. Probably he and his brothers used to hunt regularly in this district; and among their number was the sly and secretive youth, who was afterwards to become Thothmes IV, whose custom was to hunt in the Valley of Gazelles.

all things, seeking benefits for the Gods of the South and the North, who builds their houses of limestone, who endows all their offerings, Son of Atum of his body, Thothmes IV, shining in diadems like Ra, Heir of Horus upon his throne, Men-kheperu-Ra, given life.

"When His Majesty was stripling, like Horus, the Youth in Khemmis, his body was like the Protector of his Father (Horus), he seemed like the God himself. The army rejoiced because of love for him, and he repeated the circuit of his might like the Son of Nut, and all the princes and all the great ones.

"Behold, he did a thing which gave him pleasure upon the highlands of the Memphite Nome, shooting at a target with copper bolts, hunting lions and the small game of the desert, coursing in his chariot, his horses being swifter than the wind, together with two of his followers, while not a soul knew it.

"Now, when his hour came for giving rest to his followers, it was always at the Setepet (Sanctuary of Hor-em-akhet), beside Seker in Rostaw, Rennutet in Iat-ta-Mut . . . in the desert (or necropolis), Mut of the Northern . . . Mistress of the Southern Wall, Sekhmet, Presiding Over the Mountain, the splendid

place of the beginning of time, opposite to the Lords of Kheraha (1), the sacred road of the Gods to the Western Necropolis of Heliopolis.

"Now, the very great statue of Kheperi rests in this place, the great of prowess, upon which the shadow of a Ra tarries. The quarters of Memphis and all the cities which are by him come to him, raising their hands for him in praise to his face, bearing oblations for his Ka.

"One of those days it came to pass that the King's Son Thothmes came coursing at the time of mid-day, and he rested in the shadow of this Great God. Sleep seized him at the hour when the sun was in its zenith, and he found the Majesty of this Revered God speaking with his own mouth, as a father speaks with his son, saying: 'Behold thou me, my son, Thothmes. I am thy father Hor-em-akhet-Kheperi-Ra-Atum; I will give to thee my Kingdom upon earth at the head of the living. Thou shalt wear the White Crown and the Red Crown (2) upon the Throne of Geb, the Hereditary Prince (3). The

(1) The Egyptian Babylon now known as Old Cairo.

(2) The White Crown is that of Upper Egypt and the Red Crown of Lower Egypt, sometimes these two crowns were worn together, the white inside the red, and was then called the Double Crown.

(3) Geb was the God of the Earth. He was also a member of the Ennead of nine gods of Heliopolis, and was the father of Osiris, Isis, Nepthys, Set and Horus the Elder. He had at one time ruled Egypt at the beginning of the divine Dynasty of Gods, and was succeeded by his son Osiris

land shall be thine in its length and in its breadth, that which the eye of the All-Lord shines upon. The food of the Two Lands shall be thine, the tribute of all countries, the duration of long periods of years. My face is directed to you, my heart is to you, you shall be to me the protector of my affairs, because I am ailing in all my limbs. The sands of the Sanctuary, upon which I am, have reached me; turn to me in order to do what I desire. I know that thou art my son, my protector; behold, I am with thee, I am thy leader'.

"When he had finished this speech, the King's Son awoke, hearing this . . . He understood the words of the God, and he put them in his heart. He said: 'come, let us hasten to our house in the city; they shall protect the oblations for this God which we bring for him: oxen . . . and all young vegetables; and we shall give praise to Wnnefer . . . Khafra, the statue made for Atum-Hor-em-akhet . . . '."

Thothmes IV also dedicated a fine series of stelae, which seem to have originally been set in one of the mud-brick protective walls which he built around the Sphinx. Of this series of stelae, we recovered eleven in our excavations. They are of limestone, round topped, and measure on an average about 65 × 45 cm. Each one bears a representation of

Thothmes IV, sometimes alone and sometimes accompanied by his Queen Nefertari, presenting offerings to various gods and goddesses These deities are as follows :—

"Ra-Horus of Sekhlew (1), Thoth, Lord of Khemenew (the modern Ashmunin), Wazit, Mistress of Pe and Dep (2), Seker the Great God, Lord of Shtyt (3), Amon-Ra, Lord of . . Seshat. Mistress of Writing, Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore, Hathor, Mistress of Inerty (4), Atum, Lord of Heliopolis, Ptah, Lord of Truth (5), Rennutet, of Iat-ta-Mut (6)."

While conducting his excavations around the Sphinx, M. Baraize discovered three more stelae belonging to this series. They bear representations of Thothmes IV presenting offering to gods : Ptah, Isis, Mistress of Heaven, a goddess whose identification is impossible owing to a breakage in the stone which has obliterated her characteristic head-dress and the inscription giving her name.

(1) A sacred town near Heliopolis.
(2) The patron Goddess of Lower Egypt
(3) The old Memphite god of the dead, later [illegible]
(4) Hathor was worshipped under several different [illegible] perhaps local cults
(5) The chief god of the Memphite Triad.
(6) *See* also the text of the Granite Stela of [illegible] the Goddess of the Harvest, and was perhaps wor[illegible] the barren lands to bear abundant crops.

Two other specimens from the same series were found by the Von Sieglin Expedition (1). The deities represented upon them being Hor-em-akhet and Mut.

These stelae are of special interest, for they provide us with a list of the gods worshipped in this district.

In spite of the suspicions which we may harbour against Thothmes IV, we must admit that he did more than any other King towards the clearance of the Sphinx, though this was probably due to his desire to appear as though he were under an obligation to the God for his kingship, an insistence on the fact that he had gained the throne by the express command of the Sphinx.

Amenhotep III built the Temple at Luxor as a similar thank-offering to Amon-Ra, and also, let us whisper, in the hope that the priests would overlook the fact that his mother was a foreign woman, and not a daughter of the true Solar blood !

Amenhotep III (1411 - 1375 B.C.), who was the son and successor of Thothmes IV, was also a great hunter, and was very proud of his skill in that sport. He issued two series of scarabs inscribed with his hunting exploits. One records his bag of lions during

(1) HOLSCHER, "*Das Grabdenkmal des Konigs Chephren*", p. 109.

the first ten years of his reign, while the other describes a wild cattle hunt which he organized. The translation of this latter scarab runs as follows (1) .—

"Year 2, under the Majesty of King Amenhotep, given life, and the Great King's Wife, Tiy, living like Ra. Marvel which happened to His Majesty One came to say to His Majesty · 'There are wild cattle on the highlands as far as the region of Sheta'.

"His Majesty sailed downstream in the royal barge, 'Kammat' at the time of evening, beginning the goodly way, and arriving at the region of Sheta at the time of morning.

" His Majesty appeared upon a horse (2), his whole army being behind him. The Commanders and the Citizens of all the army in its entirety, and the children with them, were commanded to keep watch over the wild cattle. Behold, His Majesty commanded to cause that these wild cattle be surrounded by a wall with an enclosure. His Majesty commanded to count all these wild cattle. Statement thereof : 170 wild cattle. Statement of that which His Majesty captured on this day : 56 wild cattle.

(1) Breasted, "*Ancient Records*", Vol. II, p. [illegible]

(2) A curious statement, as the Egyptians [illegible] Are we to assume that he means a chariot, or did [illegible] the Asiatic custom of his Mother's people, and [illegible]

"His Majesty tarried four days to give fire to his horses. His Majesty appeared upon a horse a second time. Statement of all the wild cattle which His Majesty captured in the hunt: 20 wild cattle. Total: 76 wild cattle."

Breasted thinks that this hunt took place in some spot that could be reached in a night from Memphis (1), and in this case it could easily be the Valley of Gazelles, the usual royal hunting-ground.

With regard to the scarabs recording the lion hunts, the text does not mention any special locality, and as these hunts were spread over a number of years, we may conclude that all the lions were not shot in one place; but without doubt some of the lions of the Valley of Gazelles are included in the number of the slain. The text of this scarab runs as follows (2):—

"Live (here follows the official titles of the King) Amenhotep, Ruler of Thebes, given life, and the Great King's Wife, Tiy, who liveth. Statement of lions which His Majesty brought down with his own arrows, from year 1 to year 10; fierce lions, 102."

Another monument of Amenhotep III which seems to suggest that he visited the Sphinx is a stela

(1) BREASTED, "*Ancient Records*", Vol. II, pp. 345, 346.

(2) BREASTED, *ibid*, pp. 346, 347.

discovered by the Von Seiglin Expedition, in which is cut the cartouche of Amenhotep III (1). The scene on this stela represents the King as a young, naked boy in the act of offering lotus-flowers to the Sphinx. There was an inscription above the head of the King, and a statue between the paws of the Sphinx, but this inscription and the kingly statue have been wantonly erased. The fact that Amenhotep is represented as a little boy refers to his accession to the throne while still a minor.

Queen Tiy, the wife of Amenhotep III, was represented as a victorious sphinx on the sides of her throne (*see* p. 108).

With regard to Akhenaton, the son and successor of Amenhotep III, we do not know if he visited this district. It is quite likely that he visited Heliopolis and Memphis (where monuments depicting him accompanied by his Co-regent and Successor, Semenkh-kara, have been found) (2), and it is significant that we have representations of him in the form of a sphinx (*see* p. 104). Also, in most cases, his iconoclasts have spared the image of the Sphinx when, at his orders, they were destroying the figures of the

(1) HOLSCHER, "*Das Grabdenkmal des Konigs Chephren*" — 107.

(2) *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, Vol.

old Gods (1). Therefore, it is possible that he came here on pilgrimage, but it is very unlikely that he indulged in any hunting, such a pastime being foreign to his nature and his creed.

Tutankhamon, the brother and Son-in-law of Akhenaton, was a child of some ten or eleven years when he came to the throne, and his mummy seems to indicate that he was not more than nineteen years old at the time of his death. Nothwithstanding his youth, and the troublous times in which he lived, the young King carried on the royal traditions, and was an ardent sportsman. His funerary equipment affords us ample proof that he was a mighty hunter, and his tomb contained a profusion of bows and arrows, boomerangs, hunting knives, etc., while even his perfume jar bears scenes of hounds pulling down wild beasts of the desert, and the embroidery on his linen tunic had for a motif similar scenes, interspersed with female Sphinxes (*see* p. 109). The lid of a wooden casket from his tomb shows on one side a panel, beautifully painted in miniature, with a representation of the Tutankhamon hunting lions. The King is mounted in his chariot, and is accompanied by a powerful hound which boldly attacks the

(1) It is possible that on the rare occasions where we find a sphinx destroyed, it was done after the reaction against Atonism had set in, and every symbol, even remotely connected with the hated cult, was remorselessly destroyed by the more fanatical reactionaries.

lions wounded by the King's arrows These animals are drawn with a stark realism and fidelity to nature which is simply amazing (1) The other side of the lid of this casket bears a scene in which Tutankhamon is shown hunting antelopes, wild asses, hyenas, ostriches, etc.

It is hardly surprising, then, to find that Tutankhamon was among those rulers, who had visited the Sphinx for the combined purposes of pilgrimage and hunting. Moreover, he did not fail to dedicate a stela to the Sphinx, the fragments of which came to light in our excavations. This stela, which bore a representation of Tutankhamon and his young Queen, Ankhesnamon, adoring the Sphinx, has suffered wilful damage, probably at the hands of some fanatical Atonist, enraged at the King's return to the old religion. The stela had been smashed to pieces, and the faces of the King and Queen, the figure of the Sphinx and the name of Amon (occurring in the Queen's cartouche) were roughly hacked out. In fact, the figure of the Queen seems to have been more thoroughly damaged than that of the King, whether by chance, or for some special reason, it is difficult to say.

Another monument of Tutankhamon was found by M. Baraize in a mud-brick structure, lying a little

(1) Carter, "*The Tomb of Tutankhamon*", Vol. II, Pl. III.

to the south-west of the Valley Temple of Khafra. Here, a stone door-way, which had been usurped by Rameses II, was found on careful examination to bear an inscription of Tutankhamon. In it he refers to the Sphinx under the name of Hwrna (*see* p. 26).

It is very probable that the building in which this door-way was found, as well as some of those in the immediate neighbourhood of the Sphinx, was the habitations of the priests, and at the same time contained a suit of rooms suitable to accommodate the kings and their entourages when they came there on their hunting-trips. In this capacity they would almost be the prototypes of the more modern desert monasteries, which, while serving as a habitation for the priests, were yet capable of accommodating travellers.

The building in question even contained a fine limestone bath-tub and it must have given great pleasure to the royal hunter, coming in all hot from the chase, to plunge into the brimming basin and scrub off the dust and grime.

Another very interesting proof of the young Tutankhamon's presence in this neighbourhood is the beautiful fan of gold and ostrich feathers, which was found in his tomb (1). On one side of the fan, the King is seen in his chariot, hunting ostriches.

(1) Carter, *ibid*, Vol. II, Pl. LXII.

On the other side, he is returning home in triumph with the coveted plumes tucked under his arm, while the servants are carrying the dead birds. On the handle is an inscription that states that this episode took place in the "Eastern Desert of Heliopolis"

Perhaps it was a visit to Giza which inspired Tutankhamon to have himself represented as a sphinx on the ends of the painted casket referred to above

Tutankhamon died childless, and he was succeeded on the throne by a certain Ay (about 1350 - 1347 B.C.), a man of non-royal birth, whose wife had been the nurse of Queen Nefertiti, the famous Queen of Akhenaton. Ay had held various offices, priestly and military, under Akhenaton and Tutankhamon, and appears to have been as capable of changing his religion as of changing a garment, as need should arise. A loyal Atonist so long as Atonism was in the ascendancy, he was one of the first to return to the old religion when the reaction set in, and in the third year of his reign, we find him dedicating a stela in the Temple of Isis, Mistress of the Pyramid, recording an endowment of land given to one of his officials. The text reads (1) :—

"Year three, third month of the third season, first day (here follows the official titles of the King) of

(1) Collated by Grdsiloff.

King Ay, given life. This day One (the King) was in Memphis, and His Majesty commanded to establish the land of reward to the stranger man, called Teta-ta, for his wife, Nezem-Mut. It was laid out in the district north of the Field of the Hittites, in the domain of the House of Thothmes I and the House of Thothmes IV, being a field of 164 arouras (1) to the south of the House of Thothmes IV, its north being the Temple of Ptah, and the House of Thothmes I, which is surrounded by the canal, its west being the great eastern desert, in which the House of Thothmes I is surrounded by the canal. The Royal Scribe and Chief of the Granaries, Rames, and the Royal Scribe, Meri-Ra, and the Scribe, Thay, came here for this business and ordered the Chief Servant, Ra, to establish it."

This reference to the Field of the Hittites is interesting. We know that on the death of Akhenaton, his wife, Nefertiti, anxious to retain a hold on the throne, wrote an urgent letter to the King of the Hittites, imploring him to send her one of his sons in order that she might marry him, and take him to share the throne of Egypt with her.

(1) Aroura (or arura) is an ancient Egyptian measure of land. It is approximately equal to 0·641 of the modern Egyptian feddan (acre) and 0·676 of an English acre.

After some delay, her request was granted, and the prospective bridegroom was despatched. This arrangement, however, did not meet with the approval of the Egyptians, and the unfortunate Prince was probably met at the frontiers by a deputation, who promptly changed his Wedding March into a funeral procession! The Hittites sent an army to avenge their Prince's murder, and boasted that they defeated the Egyptians in a battle. The Egyptians, however, claim to have routed the Hittites. According to a letter found at Boghaz Koi, which anciently was the capital of the Hittite Kingdom, one of the Egyptian soldiers taken prisoner by the Hittites, was suffering from the plague, and infected his captors. The sickness spread so rapidly among them that they were forced to withdraw, leaving the Egyptians masters of the situation.

This Field of the Hittites may have been a tract of land cultivated by captive Hittites, brought to Egypt as prisoners of war from this engagement.

The fact that King Ay presented the man Teta-ta with land suggests that he may have been staying in this district, and that Teta-ta entertained him, or rendered him some service which demanded a liberal reward. So perhaps we may be allowed to include Ay

as one of the royal huntsmen as well as a pious pilgrim to the shrines of the gods he had at one time affected to despise.

A plate of engraved gold, which formed part of the decoration of the quiver of Ay, shows that Monarch driving in his chariot, and shooting at a rectangular target set upon a post. Tied to this post are two foreign prisoners; at the same time a negro and an Asiatic kneel below the King's horses, imploring his mercy. Behind the King's chariot runs his hunting-hound and an attendant with a fan.

It would seem that the decoration of this quiver is symbolical. The figures of the prisoners remind us that Ay was formerly a Chief of Cavalry, while the presence of the hound suggests that he was also a huntsman, and the quiver itself would have been equally necessary to him in war or the chase (1). The fact that some faience rings bearing the name of Ay were found in the Temple of Isis beside the Great Pyramid, seems to suggest that he was popular in this district. If, as seems likely, these faience rings are really contemporary with the kings whose names they bear, they are valuable evidence for fixing the date of any monument in which they occur. As regards to their purpose, they may have been made to commemorate a royal visit, and were perhaps

(1) *See* VAN DE WALLE, "*Chronique d'Egypte*", No. 26, p. 250.

distributed among the officials and notables. Or they may bear the names of popular kings, and were made and sold by the priests of certain shrines having some connection with these kings.

Similar rings bearing the name of Hor-em-heb were also found in this same Temple of Isis, so connecting this King with the Giza district (1). But up till now, no inscriptions of Hor-em-heb have come to light there, so we do not know on what occasion his visit was made As he was no longer young when he came to the throne, it is doubtful if he availed himself of a good day's sport then, but in his younger days when he was still only an army Officer of high rank, he may well have been a member of many a merry-hunting party in the Valley of Gazelles, especially when we know that his head-quarters as the great general of the army was at Memphis in the reign of Tutankhamen.

Rameses I, the first King of the XIXth Dynasty (2) was an elderly man at the time of his accession, and after a brief reign of little more than one year, [illegible]

(1) Hor-em-heb (1350-1315 B.C.) came to the throne at the death of Ay. A General of the Army, he [illegible] capable and honest ruler, and may be called the [illegible] it was he who brought order out of the [illegible] *the country had fallen during the reign of the* [illegible] his weak successors.

(2) Like Hor-em-heb, who appointed [illegible] had been a General of the Army, but [illegible] royal family. He ruled from [illegible] by his son, Seti I

succeeded by his son Seti I, who was to inaugurate his dynasty in the combined pilgrimages and pleasure trips to the Sphinx.

If we may judge by the evidence of the inscribed limestone door-jambs which bear his name, Seti added the south-western chamber to the mud-brick Temple of Amenhotep II, and also he dedicated a stela in this temple. This stela, which is of limestone, is rather badly damaged, for it was made in two parts, and the smaller slab of stone which formed the right-hand edge is lacking, while the surface of the remaining stone has considerably flaked away, particularly on its upper part. In the middle portion of the stela, Seti I is depicted in an unusual hunting-scene. The Pharaoh is on foot, although the Kings were generally accustomed to use their chariots for hunting. Perhaps he was shown thus in order to prove his courage to the people, as a man who dared to attack the savage lion without either the protection of his chariot, or the easy means of escape afforded by the swiftness of his horses. He is armed with a bow and arrows, and is taking careful aim at a mixed group of oryx and lions in front of him. The animals, of which there were more on the missing slab, fall into agonized attitudes, pierced by his shafts. Behind the King is a large symbol of life, provided with human arms, and carrying a long-handled fan.



FIG 42.—THE STELA OF SETI I

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FIG. 42.—THE STELA OF SETI I

In front of the King are seven vertical rows of inscription reading (Fig. 42) :—

"His Majesty goes forth to shine like Ra when he rises in the sky. Now, he saw a great wild lion, as when the divine falcon sees a hoopoe, he saw the bow, then he took the arrow of Montu and the bow of Bastet (1). He killed the lion in a moment, because he is Ra, beloved of his father Amon. This has been done in truth, in the presence of the officials of the Palace. They shouted to the Lord of the Lands, and their voices reached to heaven."

The bottom part of the stela is occupied by an inscription which reads :—

". . . Giving life to the Two Lands, the Favourite of the Two Goddesses (2), renewing births, powerful of arm, he who defeats the Nine Bows, the Golden Horus, he who is repeating appearances, mighty of bows in all the lands, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (the Son of Ra), Lord of Crowns, Seti Mer-en-Ptah, given life for ever like Ra.

"He made it (*i.e.* the stela) as a monument for his father Hwl-Hor-em-akhet, he made . . . (He) went forth to promote the place where the people pray. The Good God, the mighty and valiant on the horses

(1) The cat-headed Goddess of Bubastis. She seems here to be regarded as a goddess of war or hunting. The Greeks identified her with their Artemis, who was also a goddess of the chase and an archeress

(2) The patron Goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt

in the fighting of hundreds and thousands . . . . his soldiers, he who conquers with his arm, and shouts in front of his cavalry . . . all the foreign lands. Who is coming . . . strong, courageous of heart . . . in the midst of the soldiers, beautiful in front of them like Amon-Ra when he rises in the sky . . . at the head of the battle in every foreign land . . . the rebels. Who is conquering Paw-na-mar . . . troops. Clever in holding his bow, he forces the Asiatics back, who is standing in the battle-field with the Power of his father Amon, who is assigning to him victory."

This is perhaps the only monument we have which reveals Seti in the guise of a huntsman, or refers to his relaxation from the affairs of his Kingdom; and although he says that he killed the lion in very truth, it is probable that Seti hunted here in order to keep alive the royal traditions of the great days of the Empire, which he was so anxious to revive rather than for the love of the sport itself.

The limestone door-jambs of the south-western chamber, mentioned above, also refer to the Sphinx under the name of Hwl.

Seti I also seems to have added the door-posts to the main entrance to the Temple of Amenhotep II, but these were later usurped by his grandson, Mer-en-Ptah.

Rameses II, the famous son of Seti I, also came to visit the Sphinx, and left at least four stelae as memorials of his presence there. Two of these were found in the little temple between the paws of the Sphinx, and one of them bears an inscription mentioning the warlike character of the King, but does not refer to him as a hunter.

As mentioned before, it would seem as though Rameses II made some repairs to the Sphinx, and perhaps it was he who added the first coat of masonry to the body and paws. If this is so, let us hasten to record it in his favour, it is not often that we can speak well of Rameses when it comes to a matter of monuments !

M. Baraize found part of a limestone cornice bearing the cartouches of Rameses II, but it is not certain if this came from any of the existing buildings, or from some monument now destroyed.

As already related, Rameses did not scruple to usurp the limestone door-way of Tutankhamon. Indeed, there is much evidence of usurpation in the comparatively small group of monuments around the Sphinx. Even the Stela of Seti I, mentioned above, was fashioned from slabs taken from the inner casing of the temple, and mounted on another block bearing inscriptions relating to Thothmes IV. In

this case, however, the known character of Seti I, coupled with the many instances in which he is known to have piously restored ancient monuments, leads us to suspect that this act of vandalism was carried out without his knowledge. It would be an easy matter for a dishonest contractor to seize upon any available stone lying to hand, convert it to his own use, and pocket the difference which a new stone would have cost in labour and transport. If the King were only on a brief visit, and thus would have in all probability gone back to the capital long before the monument he ordered was well under way, the deception would pass unnoticed. Even if he should return to inspect the finished work, the usurped stones would be in their places, and be indistinguishable from new material. But this excuse cannot very well apply to such conspicuous objects as statues and already erected monuments, as for example, Tutankhamon's limestone door-way, and I am afraid that Rameses II and his son Mer-en-Ptah must be held responsible for the greater part of what can only be called their "monumental brigandage".

But to return to the monuments which Rámeses II erected or usurped at the Sphinx; it will be seen that they are chiefly of a religious character, and

make no mention of him as a sportsman. But if he was as bold in civil life as we know him to have been in battle, we can be sure that he did not hesitate to take full advantage of the facilities offered by the Giza district; and the line in the so-called "Poem of Pentaour", which describes him as "a fierce lion in the Valley of Gazelles", shows that he must have been well acquainted with the Valley and its wild denizens.

Mer-en-Ptah, the thirteenth son of Rameses II, left a memento of his visit to the Sphinx by usurping the jambs of the main entrance to the Temple of Amenhotep II, thus proving himself to be a true son of his father !

As he was an elderly man when he came to the throne, it is doubtful if he indulged in any strenuous sports.

We know from the walls of Medinet Habu that Rameses III (1198 - 1167 B.C.) was the great hunter of the XXth Dynasty, therefore, it is not surprising to find that he was also a visitor to the Valley of Gazelles. We find his name inscribed on part of a door-jamb belonging to the Temple of Amenhotep II, but unfortunately we did not find any other inscription giving details of his activities there other than that of a religious pilgrimage.

Rameses IV, also of the XXth Dynasty (1167-1161 B.C.), left a relic of his presence in the Giza district, in the form of a cylindrical column, upon which the following is inscribed :—

" . . . the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, the Lord of Power, the Lord of Offerings, Weser-Ra-setep-en-Amon (Rameses IV), given life . . . (1)."

This monument is chiefly of interest because it is one of the few appertaining to Rameses IV, which have appeared in the Memphite region.

Rameses VI, of the XXth Dynasty, also seems to have visited the region of the Sphinx, as we may gather by a fragment of a stela bearing his name and titles, which was discovered near the Sphinx in 1913.

The kings of the XXIst Dynasty were noted for their piety, and Pasebekhanu (1085 B.C.), the second king of this dynasty, also visited the Giza district, but it seems for religious reasons rather than for sport. He seems to have started rebuilding the Temple of Isis, which lies to the east of the small pyramid of Khufu's daughter, the Princess Henut-sen, and which, amalgamated with the Sphinx, was destined to become a popular place of pilgrimage and worship during the Saitic Period.

(1) cf. "*Zeitschrift fur Agyptische Sprache*", Vol. XIX, p. 116 C.

In his book, "*The Pyramids and Temples of Giza*" (p 156), Petrie says · "Most happily the excavations disclosed a scene of the King offering to Osiris, and though much decayed, the cartouche was legible, and was in every hieroglyph that of Petukhanu (Pasebekhanu) of the XXIst Dynasty. He is represented wearing the crown of Lower Egypt. This, then, gives the date of the temple, and the character of all the work agrees with this epoch"

The temple and the stela, which it contained, were found by Mariette in 1858, and the latter has been one of the stumbling blocks of Archæology ever since; for, as we shall see presently, the stela claims that the temple was found (apparently in ruins) by Khufu, and was re-built by him. In which case, it must at the very latest, have been built in the beginning of the IIIrd Dynasty (about 2980 B.C.).

As a matter of fact, we possess theoretical and practical proofs of the falsity of this statement, which was clearly made in a later time by the priests, in order to give their sanctuary the reputation of great age.

First, it was dedicated to Isis, Mistress of the Pyramid, but as Khufu was the first King to build a pyramid in this district, it is difficult to see why the Goddess should bear this title; moreover, the cult

of Isis was little known in the IVth Dynasty, when the Kings and the royal family were adherents to the Solar Cult, and it is most unlikely that she would have a temple in this place at all.

Secondly, the fact that the Mortuary Temple of Princess Henut-sen and some of the mastaba tombs of the IVth Dynasty had been usurped in its construction, proves that the temple is later than the Old Kingdom.

Probably this temple was built during the XVIIIth Dynasty when the combined attractions of the Sphinx and the Valley of Gazelles had made this district popular. The title of Isis, as "Mistress of the Pyramid", is probably due to the confusion of the first part of the name of the Princess (whose Mortuary Temple, we must remember, forms the nucleus of the temple) 'Henut', with the word '*henut*' meaning "mistress", and resulted in the later Egyptians identifying the Princess with the Goddess Isis.

That this temple was in existence during the XVIIIth Dynasty may be proved by the presence of faience rings bearing the names of Amenhotep III, Tutankhamon, Ay and Hor-em-heb (1).

(1) Rings were also found here bearing the names of Seti I and Rameses II, of the XIXth Dynasty.

According to Dr. Reisner, who excavated this temple in 1926, these rings were sold to pilgrims by the priests of the temple. The Stela of Prince Amen-em-Apt from our excavations (*see* p. 189 and Fig. 41) shows him offering to Isis, who is enthroned in a shrine having columns with lotus capitals. As the columns of this temple have similar capitals, the scene on the stela may perhaps be taken to represent this sanctuary.

After the reign of Rameses II, we do not hear any more of the Temple of Isis, until the time of Pasebekhanu, who apparently decided to repair and enlarge it. The work was carried on by one of his successors, Amen-em-Apt, who continued the structure eastwards from the original IVth Dynasty Mortuary Temple. A slab from one of the walls bears a representation of this King presenting offerings to Isis; and he seems to have been of a pious disposition, for he was one of the Kings who were responsible for the re-bandaging and safeguarding of mummies of the High Priests of Amon, found in the second cache at Deir-el-Bahari, in western Thebes.

During the Saitic Period (663-525 B.C.), much work was done to the Temple of Isis, as might be expected, for it was during this time that Egypt experienced a great revival of the old traditions. It

would seem as though the kings of this period sought, by restoring the outward appearances of the Old Kingdom, to restore also the power and prosperity that went with it. So great was the vogue for Old Kingdom styles of art, that artists took to visiting the ancient necropoli in order to study the tomb decoration at first hand. Moreover, these ancient necropoli came once more into favour as places for the better-class burials. We find many of the vast shafts, typical of this late age in the Giza Necropolis. The so-called "Campball's Tomb", to the north of the causeway of Khafra, is a good example of this kind of burial. Curiously enough, Saitic burial shafts occur in some of the smaller chambers of the Temple of Isis, an unusual thing in Egypt, and reminiscent of the Christian custom of interring the illustrious dead in cathedrals and churches.

The temple was now extended eastwards across a street between three small pyramids on the west and a row of well-built mastaba tombs on the east, five chambers of the temple being actually constructed in the cores of these mastabas, while the end of the eastern hall of the temple was built right over the roof of another mastaba! Moreover, practically all the stones of the masonry of the temple had been looted from buildings in the neighbourhood, and cut to the small size characteristic of the period.

On the wall of one of the chambers is a fine relief, showing a priest kneeling in adoration before the Goddess Isis and the infant Horus. The work is neatly done, and shows clearly the influence of the Old Kingdom styles. The walls of this chapel also bear many graffiti, recording the names and professions of visitors, most of whom appear to have been priests from the neighbouring temples. These graffiti are interesting, as they show us that at this time there was a great revival in the worship of the IVth Dynasty kings, Khufu, Ded-f-Ra, Khafra, and Men-kaw-Ra; moreover, they display what is apparently the oldest examples we have of the titles of the Priest of the Sphinx, namely "*Hem-neter Hor-em-akhet*".

Other chapels also contain the remains of bas-reliefs, some of which still retain traces of their original brilliant colouring.

Among the objects found during the clearance of this temple were some small limestone sphinxes, and also many statues dating from the Old Kingdom, the latter, according to Dr. Reisner's theory, having been taken from plundered tombs in order to decorate the temple. Perhaps, like the stela itself, they were placed in the temple in order to give it the effect of great age.

But by far the most important find was the stela which Mariette discovered, and which is now in the Cairo Museum, still wrongly placed among the Old Kingdom objects. It has been given various names, including "the Stela of Khufu's Daughter", and the "Inventory Stela!" The latter name is perhaps the more correct one, of less romantic-sounding, for it bears a list of the figures of the gods which Khufu is supposed to have found there when he came to repair the temple. The stela, which is of fine white limestone, measures 70 × 42 cm. and bears the following inscription (1):—

"Live Horus the Mezer, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khufu, given life.

"He made for his Mother, Isis, the Divine Mother, Mistress of the Western Mountain (2), a decree made on a stela; he gave to her a new divine offering, and he built her temple of stone, renewing what he had found, namely these gods in her place.

"Live Horus, the Mezer, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khufu, given life.

"He found the House of Isis, Mistress of the Pyramid, by the side of cavity of the Sphinx, on the

(1) Text and translation, "*Rec. Trav.*", Vol. XXX, pp. 2-10.

(2) The necropolis.

north-west of the House of Osiris, Lord of Rostaw, and he built his pyramid beside the temple of this Goddess, and he built a pyramid for the King's Daughter, Henut-sen, beside this temple.

"The place of Hwran-Hor-em-akhet is on the south of the House of Isis, Mistress of the Pyramid, and on the north of Osiris, Lord of Rostaw. The plans of the Image of Hor-em-akhet were brought in order to bring to revision the sayings of the disposition of the Image of the Very Redoubtable. He restored the statue all covered in painting, of the Guardian of the Atmosphere, who guides the winds with his g[illegible]. He made to quarry the hind part of the nemes [illegible] dress, which was lacking, from gilded stone [illegible] which had a length of about 7 ells [illegible] metres.

"He came to make a tour, in order to [illegible] the thunderbolt, which stands in the Place of the Sycamore, so named because of a great sycamore, whose branches were struck when the Lord of Heaven descended upon the place of Hor-em-akhet, and [illegible] this image, [illegible] according to the above-mentioned disposition, which [illegible] of all the animals killed at Rostaw. [illegible] the vases full of these animals which [illegible] thighs, were eaten near these 7 gods.

(The God gave the thought in his [illegible]

a written decree on the side of this Sphinx, in an hour of the night (1). The figure of this God, being cut in stone, is solid, and will exist to eternity, having always its face regarding the Orient."

The main part of the panel of the stela is occupied by representations of the sacred statues and emblems, supposed to have been found by Khufu, and each is accompanied by an explanation of the material of which it is made, its height, and, of course, the name and title of the deity it represents.

This, then, is the contents of the stela that has caused so much controversy in the archæological world, and has led many students of history into error with regard to the dating of the Sphinx.

If we could believe its inscriptions, we should have to credit Khufu with having repaired the Sphinx, apparently after it had been damaged by a thunderbolt. As a matter of fact, there may be a grain of truth in this story, for the tail of the nemes head-dress of the Sphinx is certainly missing, and it is not a part, which, by reason of its shape and position, could be easily broken off, except by a direct blow from some heavy object, delivered with terrific force. There is

(1) As on the Stela of Thothmes IV, the God gives his instructions in the form of a dream.

actually to be seen on the back of the Sphinx the scar of this breakage, and traces of the old mortar with which it was repaired. This scar measures about 4 metres which accords with the measurements recorded on the stela; the extra 30 cm. damage may easily have occurred at the last destruction of the tail of the nemes. Therefore, it is perhaps likely that the Sphinx was struck by lightning, but there is not a particle of evidence to show that this accident happened in the reign of Khufu.

As a matter of fact, the whole stela, in its form, style of inscription and decoration, and the similarity of its writing to that of the graffiti in the small chapel of the temple, all point to it being entirely the work of the XXVIth Dynasty. The most damning evidence against it, dating from the Old Kingdom, are the names Hwran and Hor-em-akhet given to the Sphinx, which, as we have already seen, do not occur before the XVIIIth Dynasty, and also the titles of some of the gods, which also were not used at this early period !

Maspero states that in his opinion (1), the Inventory Stela is not an original document dedicated by Khufu, but is a later copy, or perhaps a forgery, made a long time after the death of Khufu (

(1) MASPERO, "*A Guide to the Cairo Museum*"

support some fictitious claim of the local priests "The Temple of Isis was re-built where it was foun during the XXIst Dynasty, by the Tanite King Pasebekhanu, and the stela must have been made o restored under this king, or perhaps under one of th Ethiopian Pharaohs. If it is a copy of a decayed monument, it probably preserves the arrangement o the original".

It is, as Maspero says, quite possible that this stela is a copy of an older document, such copies being known to exist, but even so, it cannot possibly date back as far as it pretends, namely to the reign of Khufu, for the reasons we have just seen.

By far the most interesting part of the inscription is the account of the thunder-storm. It seems to bear the stamp of truth, and it would be interesting to know under which king this event actually took place. The mention of a great sycamore tree having been struck by lightning is also interesting, for there is a similar tree of immense age, still flourishing a little to the south of the Sphinx. These trees often live to a great age, and the present specimen is said to be older than the famous Virgin's Tree at Materiah, which is credited with nearly two thousand years. Therefore, the tree at Giza may well be an offshoot

of the tree mentioned in the inscription. It is also this "family" of trees that may have given the goddess Hathor her title of Mistress of the Sycamore, a form under which she was extensively worshipped in this district and elsewhere.

Unfortunately, we do not know the names of the kings of the Saitic Period who restored the temple, but two clues seem to be given. One of them is a part of a granite statue of Pasmtik II (593 B.C.) found at Giza, and now in the Berlin Museum. It is inscribed : "Pasmtik (II) living for ever, the beloved of Seker-Osiris, Lord of Rostaw".

This seems to connect him with the associated places of worship in the Giza Necropolis.

The other clue is a sphinx of limestone, inscribed with the name of Wah-ib-Ra, the Hophra of the Bible, and the Apries of Herodotus (588 - 569 B.C.). It was found in our excavations near the Great Sphinx. According to Herodotus, Wah-ib-Ra was a cruel, vindictive man, unpopular with his subjects, who eventually made a successful revolt against him. The Leader of the revolt, Amasis, treated Wah-ib-Ra with honour, and the two Kings ruled conjointly for some time (1).

(1) HERODOTUS, "*Book II*", Par. 163.

During the Persian Period (525-332 B.C.), we hear little about the Sphinx, even that old chatterbox, Herodotus, is silent upon the subject. It could not have been completely covered with sand at his time, as it still retained a priesthood; but evidently it was not considered of much importance by the Dragoman who guided Herodotus, as he evidently did not see this monument.

It is to be regretted that the "Father of History" is silent upon this subject, for it would have been interesting to know his opinion about this unique monument, and the story, savoury or otherwise, that he would have related concerning it!

The worship of Isis, Mistress of the Pyramids, as well as the cults of the Kings of the IVth Dynasty, was still continuing at this time, as can be proved by a stela found at the Serapeum at Memphis, and dated in the fourth year of Darius. It was dedicated by a certain Psamtik-menkh, who held the offices of Priest of Osiris-Apis (1), the Great God, Isis, Mistress of the Pyramid, and Priest of Khufu, Ded-f-Ra, Khafra, and Priest of Hor-em-akhet. His son also held similar offices (2).

(1) The identification of Osiris with the sacred bull, Apis, as worshipped at Memphis.

(2) CHASSINAT, "*Rec. Trav.*" Vol. XXII, p. 173.

At the time when this stela was inscribed, there was a great revival of the worship of the Apis bull at Memphis, and that animal may also have been venerated in the Giza district at least during the Saitic Period and later, as may be gathered by the fact that its image appears among the other gods on the Inventory Stela. We also found a small bronze figure of the Apis bull, quite near to the Sphinx.

The titles of the Priest, Psametik-menkh, appear to be written in the same manner as the graffiti in the Temple of Isis, and the office of Priest of the Deities Isis, Hor-em-akhet and Osiris, and of the Pyramid Kings, were apparently habitually held by one person, which seems to be a clear proof that these various cults were amalgamated into what we might almost call the "Giza Federation".

At the end of the Saitic Period, and later in the Ptolemaic Period, these places of worship were almost bordering upon being "show places", as they are at the present day, and I am afraid that the priests were more to be regarded as dragomans in the worldly sense than as guides in a spiritual one.

The presence of Nekht-Hor-heb, the first King of the XXXth Dynasty (about [illegible] B.C.), is recorded at Giza by a small perfume flask of bronze, found by M. Baraize.

No other inscriptions of this King have come to light there, but he is known to have erected several important monuments at Memphis and Heliopolis, and it was probably on one of his visits to these cities that he took the opportunity to make the traditional pilgrimage to the Sphinx.

In Græco-Roman times the Sphinx and its neighbouring monuments had become a veritable tourist centre, very similar to what it is to-day, and with only a very thin veneer of religious sentiment as the motive for making the visit.

These monuments had truly become to be regarded as antiquities, and, indeed, there are a greater number of years separating the era of the Pyramid Builders from the Græco-Roman Period than there are between the Græco-Roman Period and our present age.

Under Roman dominion, the Sphinx enjoyed a wide popularity, being visited by some of the Roman Emperors, who made their visits partly out of curiosity, and partly from their desire to present themselves to the Egyptians as carrying on the Pharaonic traditions, for political reasons, of course! The Roman Emperors who were represented on the monuments in the traditional attitudes, who wore the

traditional garb of the Pharaohs, and bore the traditional titulary, must also pay their homage to the Sphinx in the traditional manner

Septimus Severus (193 - 211 A.D.) was among the distinguished visitors to the site, and is said to have erected an altar on the staircase in front of the Sphinx.

Many of the visitors of this period, royal or otherwise, left records of their presence at the Sphinx in the form of either monuments, stelae or graffiti, and also dedicated many votive figures, lions again coming into prominence, for this purpose, though sphinxes and hawks also appear. The inscriptions of these later visitors, which often form an eloquent picture of the time in which they were written, may best be allowed to tell their own story.

The following inscription was found upon a block of limestone by M. Baraize, during his excavations at the Sphinx; it is a simple family record and reads: "The offering of Aragaios, his wife and their children". It calls to mind the type of homely family picnic to be seen to-day at the Sphinx on any public holiday.

Another unfinished inscription from the same source reads: "Adoration of Discoros, the stone-

cutter, and his children and . . ." The remainder of the inscription has never been cut, despite the profession of its donor!

Certain visitors made their inscriptions either on the Sphinx itself, or on a detached stone placed near to it, and these inscriptions are often of a more ambitious nature than those quoted above. Sometimes they take the form of small poems, in which the visitors attempt to express their admiration. Unfortunately for us, most of those which have survived are in a fragmentary condition. A poem of this class, which was somewhat well preserved, was inscribed on a front claw of the left paw of the Sphinx and is now in Paris. It was published by Letronne in "*Greek and Latin Inscriptions*" (*see* p. 236).

We possess the entire latter half of another of these poems, which reached us in a very curious fashion. A fragment of it had been in the Vienna Museum for over one hundred years, and was published for the first time in 1829. No one knew from whence it came, beyond the fact that it was purchased in Egypt at the time when Caviglia was making his excavations there near to the Sphinx. Then, a few years ago, M. Baraize found another inscribed fragment of limestone, near to the Sphinx,

which a great Austrian Epigraphist discovered actually fitted together with the Vienna fragment This poem is very interesting, and conjures up before our eyes visions of the feasts and gay banquets which used to take place near the Sphinx, and which sometimes lasted all through the night How similar is this to the present day, when every moonlit night brings its party of picnickers to the zone of the Sphinx, and the silence of the desert is once more broken by the sound of laughter and singing, and the youthful lovers wander hand in hand round the Pyramids. The following is a translation of the part of the poem that has survived :—

"... they are perished also,
Those walls of Thebes, which the Muses built;
But the wall that belongs to me has no fear of war,
It knows not either the ravages of the enemy, or the sobbing;
It rejoices always in feasts and banquets,
And the choruses of the young people, united from all parts.
We hear the flutes, not the trumpet of war,
And the blood that waters the earth is of the sacrificial bulls,
Not from the slashed throats of men.
Our ornaments are the festive clothes, not the arms of war,
And our hands hold not the . . .
But the fraternal cup of the . . .

Deity (the Nile), it has seemed good to the inhabitants of the village of Busiris in the Letopolite Nome, who live near the Pyramids, and to the local and village clerks therein, to vote and dedicate a stone column . . . It preserves his godlike . . . column . . . in sacred characters, to be remembered for ever . . . for having come to our Nome, and for having worshipped the sun, Armachis, the Overseer and Saviour, and for having been delighted with the magnificence and . . . of the Pyramids."

The rest of the inscription is mutilated but it seems to mention some work ordered by Babillus in connection with the Sphinx, he having been struck with the abundance of sand encroaching upon the monument.

The inscription also expressly says that the stela is to be erected near the great god Helios-Armachis.

A third decree, also found by Caviglia, commemorates the restoration of the retaining walls which surrounded the Sphinx, and is dated 166 A.D. The translation runs as follows :—

"Thy formidable form is the work of the Immortal Gods;
In order to spare the level, harvest-bearing lands,
They placed you in the midst of your cavity,
As a rocky island from which they had driven back the sand.

They placed you as a neighbour to the pyramids,
for our beholding;
Not like the Sphinx of Thebes, slain by Œdipus,
But as a sacred servant of the divine Leto,
Who vigilantly guards the good, lamented Osiris,
The sacred Guide of the Land of Egypt . . ."

The remainder is too fragmentary to translate, but at the end, the name of the author, one Arian, appears.

With the downfall of the Roman power in Egypt, the Sphinx sank into neglect and oblivion. The ever-encroaching sand, no longer held at bay by a king's command, gradually engulfed the monument, until only the head was left above the ground level, a prey to the elements and religious fanaticism. But even then, neglected and battered as it was, the Sphinx still continued to exercise its powerful influence over the minds of those who beheld it; and many conjectures as to its nature and origin are preserved to us in the writings of the Arab historians, while its very name passed into popular idiom as a synonym for enigma in almost every civilised language.

And now, once more the sands are cleared away, and the Sphinx, which [illegible] the great Conquerors of the [illegible] Dynasty, has been made to speak at the [illegible] of Science. For we of to-day are in the unique position of [illegible]

more about the Sphinx than even the Genius who designed it, for do we not see it as it was, and as it became ?

There exist many so-called poetic souls who deplore the excavation of the Sphinx, claiming that it was more romantic and picturesque when half buried in the sand. It seems to me that these are people to whom ignorance is bliss. Is it not easier to understand the Past when we have the whole monument clear before us and the actual evidence in our hands ? Surely there is more romance in the facts of History than in a sand-engulfed ruin.

Let the Poet visit the Sphinx now; let him study its history and surely his imagination will revive at once the pomp and splendour of the royal pilgrims. He will hear the thudding of the hooves of their horses as they career across the desert in pursuit of their fleeing quarry. He will rejoice in their triumphs, and deplore their feuds and jealousies. He will witness the religious ceremonies, and hear the prayers of the pilgrims who come to beg the God to grant them their human desires. And, thereupon, he will catch the echo of the songs which the garlanded revellers sang throughout the lifelong night, in the new-born conviction of the outworn saying that " Truth is stranger than fiction ".

Moreover, let us add, the poets who want to see the Sphinx always buried up to the neck in the sand are setting their wills against that of the God himself! Did not the Sphinx ask Thothmes IV to rid him of the sand? What, then, are we poor Archæologists to do; are we to please the Sphinx, or to please the Poets? I think that we had better enlist on the side of the God and Science, and leave the Poets to their dreams and lamentations.

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